

NATIONAL REVIEW

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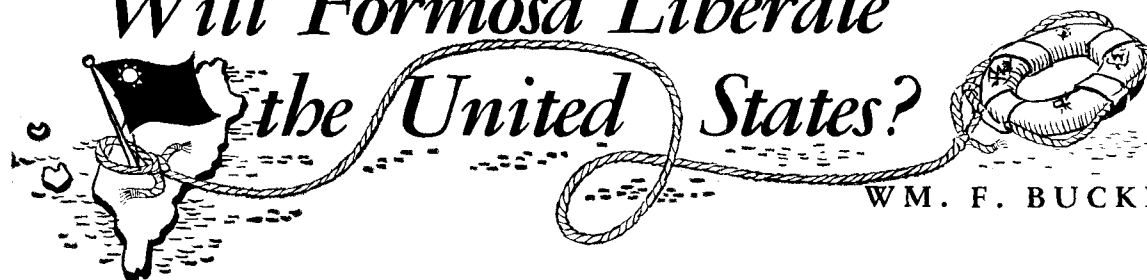
February 27, 1962

A JOURNAL OF FACT AND OPINION

Why No Katanga Investigation?

AN EDITORIAL

Will Formosa Liberate the United States?



WM. F. BUCKLEY JR.

Caudillos of the New Frontier

NATHANIEL WEYL

Articles and Reviews by RUSSELL KIRK

FRANK S. MEYER • MORTON CRONIN • JOHN CARDEN

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NATIONAL REVIEW

A JOURNAL OF FACT AND OPINION

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In This Issue . . .

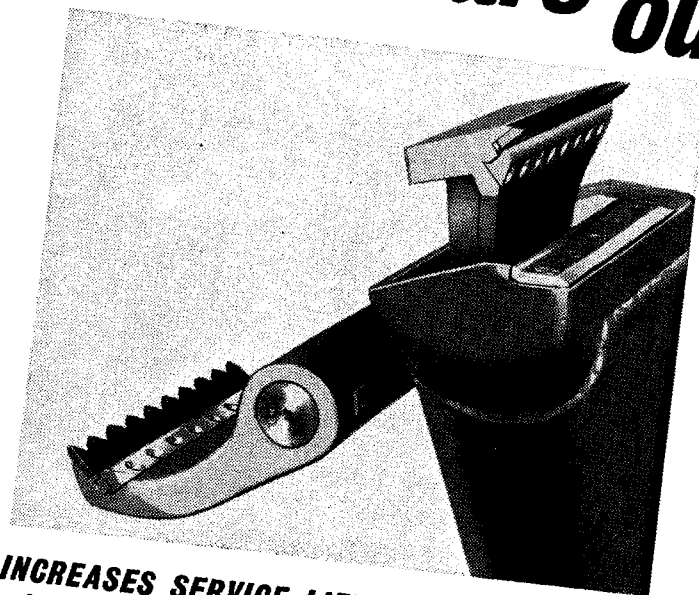
→ We feature the address delivered by **Wm. F. Buckley Jr.** to Free China's National Defense Research Institute on Taiwan during his recent visit to that embattled and indomitable island. For the past dozen years our appeasers have been urging us to "face reality" and give up our support of Free China's struggle to defend itself against Mao's aggression. His brief but concentrated inspection of Taiwan and Quemoy suggested to *NR's* editor-in-chief that in our relations with Free China we may be the ones who have the greater need. . . . **Russell Kirk** does not go along with those of both Left and Right who have identified Walter Lippmann as the Beast of Revelation, but he verifies, by quotation and considered analysis, that "it is almost as if Mr. Lippmann's recent columns were written not by an elderly serious journalist, but rather by some office boy, given to reading the *Nation*." . . . **Cato** continues his prying behind Washington's political doors, and **Frank S. Meyer** ponders the question whether a card-carrying Liberal can be a reliable anti-Communist. . . . **James Burnham** turns from his multiple examination of the why of American foreign policy to a strategic analysis of the mounting crisis in France.

→ **Nathaniel Weyl**, author of *Red Star Over Cuba*, the best-selling book least liked by Herbert Matthews, leads off the Book Section with a review of a volume that may do as much harm to our Latin American policy in the next five years as the writing of Matthews did in the last: *Prophets of the Revolution: Profiles of Latin American Leaders*, by Professor and Social Democrat Robert J. Alexander. . . . **Gabriel Gersh**, new to *NR's* pages, reserves final judgment on Richard Hughes' much discussed new novel—"ambitious and daring in scope"—*The Fox in the Attic*. Mr. Gersh has written for a long list of publications that includes the *New York Times* and the *Christian Science Monitor*. . . . The latest book by Maj. Gen. J. F. C. Fuller, whose admirers, who are many, call him "the Clausewitz of the twentieth century," is discussed by **Michael Padev**, foreign editor of the *Indianapolis Star* and the *Arizona Republic*.

→ **Morton Cronin** is presently on leave from his usual task of teaching English at Los Angeles State College. He writes of Tennessee Williams, of Williams' play about Chance Wayne's struggle to be a man, *Sweet Bird of Youth*, and of the movie that has been made from that sick and brilliant play. . . . **John Carden**, another writer new to *NR*, reviews *Blood and Roses*, a French-Italian movie directed by the influential Roger Vadim. Mr. Carden is by profession news editor of *WEOK*, Poughkeepsie. . . . The poet of the issue, **Paris Leary**, who presents us a manifesto in counterpoint, to that fateful predecessor of 114 years ago, conducts the Writer's Workshop at Bard College on the Hudson. His first published book, *Views of the Oxford Colleges and other Poems*, was brought out by Scribner's in 1960. Our readers will agree, we feel, with *NR's* poetry editor, Hugh Kenner, that *Manifesto* has "a fine rhetorical sweep." →



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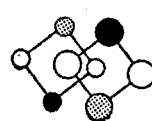
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The WEEK

● Well now, Mali and Guinea and Ghana have called for UN action toward a peaceful solution of the United States affair (with Cuba, that is). They'll just have to wait. The UN hasn't even blown up all the hospitals in Katanga yet.

● A little publicized element in the Italian government's shift to the Left was the bland acceptance of the fact by the United States State Department. American diplomacy, one would have thought, would have done everything in its power to prevent the ruling Christian Democratic Party from joining in a united front with Pietro Nenni's left-Socialists, who have, in the past, been faithful allies of the Italian Communist Party. Despite Dr. Fanfani's assurances that his new coalition with Nenni does not mean an abandonment of the NATO alliance ("at present") and a retreat into neutralism, those are the goals for which Nenni has always agitated. Even so, the State Department didn't oppose this move; indeed, it supported it as it supports the *apertura a la sinistra* everywhere in the world! In the Dominican Republic, it replaced the anti-Communist Trujillo with a government of the Left; in Laos, it places pressure on the pro-Western Boun Oum in a coalition dominated by neutralists and including the Communists; in the Congo, it sides with the one-time Lumumbist, Cyrille Adoula, against the Western-oriented Moise Tshombe; in the United Nations it votes with the Algerian rebels against France, with the Angolan rebels against Portugal, with the non-aligned nations against Belgium. So in Italy this most serious penetration of NATO's shield seems to have caused less of a tremor to our foreign policy leaders than the well-publicized peccadillos of the younger Trujillo.

● The Transport Workers Union, which seems to enjoy Mayor Wagner's help any time it wants to strangle New York City with a general strike, has appealed to Attorney General Kennedy to investigate the "menacing concentration of power" that might result from the proposed merger of the Pennsylvania Railroad and the New York Central System. Menacing whom?

● Protests are mounting in Quaker circles against the leftist activities of the American Friends Service Committee. Dr. Howard E. Kershner, acting as representative of some 105 signers of "For A Better American Friends Service Committee," has released a sworn affidavit by former FBI undercover agent

Marion Miller. As a member of a Communist cell, she says, she was directed at times to distribute literature issued by the AFSC. A statement by the 105 Friends adds that as late as November 28, 1961, the AFSC was sending through the mail a statement and letter condemning the Western position and strongly defending the Soviet Union with reference to Berlin. The signers state that "we believe these activities are not in keeping with the faith and practice of Friends and that as patriotic citizens we must vigorously object to them."

● The *Memphis Commercial Appeal* (Jan. 20) reports that some eighteen Indonesian naval personnel are in training at United States Navy installations around Memphis. Noting that the NATO alliance binds us to aid any allies under attack, the *Commercial Appeal* says, "In case of an Indonesian attack on Dutch New Guinea, United States military personnel could conceivably be in the position of having to fight the men they are now training." Suggestion to President Kennedy: instead of the nibbling tactic of training the potential enemies of our actual allies, why not train *our* enemies, and have done with it?

● Going, going and nearly gone are the 18,000 tickets to the March 7 Madison Square Garden Rally of Young Americans for Freedom Students and other young citizens, lively Liberals along with convinced conservatives, coming from as far as South Carolina, Virginia, Iowa and Montana to hear major addresses by Moise Tshombe, Senators Barry Goldwater and John Tower, and NATIONAL REVIEW's Brent Bozell Large delegations from Princeton, Harvard, Yale, the New York colleges Patriotic medleys played by a rip-roaring rally band Awards presented in person to former President Herbert Hoover, Charles Edison, John Dos Passos and many others and ulcers for the State Department, whether or not it decides, finally, to let Moise Tshombe into the country (see editorial below). YAF members are wiring President Kennedy, Secretary of State Rusk, their senators and congressmen, demanding fair play for Moise. If Katanga President Tshombe is there, radio, TV and press will spread the cheers for him across the nation. If Tshombe is barred from the country, Republican and Democratic speakers alike promise to turn the Garden into a massive, no-holds-barred protest meeting.

● When the South African Information Service informed the *N.Y. Times* [see NR, Jan. 30] that South Africa has a number of formal military pacts with Great Britain and the West and, therefore, under the *Times*' own ground rules, qualified for the desig-

For the Record

Tip-off that State had lost out in inter-departmental bickering over South Vietnam was appointment of four-star general to head new U.S. military command established there. Softs in State had opposed move (it might offend Nehru, Sukarno and Mrs. Bandaranaike, y'know). . . . Unless Lyndon Johnson manages to put over his candidate, John Connally, in multi-contested Texas gubernatorial campaign, he'll be in trouble, say Washington insiders. If Johnson can't deliver Texas he could be passed over as JFK running-mate in '64. . . . Gen. Walker, now active Democratic candidate in Texas primary, will not appear at YAF March 7 Madison Square Garden Rally (YAF being non-partisan, organizers feared his presence might be interpreted as support of Walker against conservative Republican Jack Cox, who's running for same office). Sen. Strom Thurmond, responsible for current investigation into muzzling of military and Gen. Walker case, will receive YAF award.

Defecting East German army major estimates Soviets could depend on only 20 per cent of East German army in case of conflict. . . . Newest gimmick at Wall: eight-foot-high screens, mounted on rollers, used to block out view of West Berliners who gather to wave at friends and relatives. . . . Sweden's highest court has ruled against fluoridation of municipal waters because it could "involve health hazards."

Helen Fuller (of New Republic) giving course at New York's New School on the New Frontier (History Before it's Made, Dept. ?). . . . Henry Regnery bringing out "philosophy of intellectual conservatism" paperback series. First five titles: Roosevelt's Road to Russia, (Crocker), American Might and Soviet Myth (Campaigne), Techniques of Communism (Budenz), God and Man at Yale (Buckley), McCarthy and his Enemies (Buckley, Bozell). . . . Jack Paar's three-night slander of Wm. F. Buckley Jr. (now in Europe) brought nearly a thousand letters to NR office, plus ten thousand to Paar and NBC. Transcript under scrutiny.

On demand of the Union of Belly-dancers, the Syrian government has banned the Twist: it's "sexually disturbing."

nation "pro-West" rather than "non-aligned" in *Times* maps, the *Times* took better than a week to reflect on the matter. Then it shot a crushing reply. The *Times* (said the *Times*) does not think that South Africa can be considered an ally of the West "in the usual sense of the word." And, of course, if the *Times* doesn't consider South Africa an ally of the West "in the usual sense of the word," small actions by South Africa, such as providing pilots for the Berlin airlift or fighting alongside the good guys in Korea, simply will not do.

● Holmes Alexander, the syndicated columnist, has reported the enthusiastic reception that schools throughout the country are giving to the second edition of the textbook, *Democracy Versus Communism*, first published in 1957 by the Institute of Fiscal and Political Education. The text aims to bring Communism into the schools for objective analysis and comparison with American political form, and thirty states (including Hawaii) have already ordered it without waiting for legislation.

● The Soviets have announced they'll stop stealing U.S. patents and will buy licenses from now on. Only possible explanation: there's nothing worth buying they haven't already stolen.

Why No Katanga Investigation?

In the days just prior to the opening of the present session of Congress, spokesmen of both parties promised a thorough investigation of the Katanga affair, and more generally of UN and U.S. conduct in the Congo. That was surely not too much for the citizens of a free country to expect, after the news reports of the two UN military campaigns. Where, then, is that investigation?

State Department aides and a busy public relations firm suggest that the Congo is now in good shape, that the situation is hopeful but delicate, that a stirring up of old embers could only endanger the whole structure. Cyrille Adoula is our man and a fine fellow, so eyes forward and let's forget the troubles of the past.

Now even if things Congolese were as rosy as our opinion artists are painting them, is it prudent to erase the past so totally? Are we going to drop into the dustbin those deaths, rapes, thefts, destructions, and savageries that UN troops, by firsthand report, brought to Katanga? Have we come to believe the Bolshevik maxim that the end justifies *any* means? The past, by its consequences, lives on in the present and into the future. Are we ready to accept as a precedent the armed intervention of mercenaries under a UN banner into domestic disputes? Is it of

no further interest to establish the truth about alleged UN lawlessness, about the curious relations between the UN officials and some national representatives, about the UN fiscal and economic measures? Do not Congress and the citizens have the right to know who in our government set the anti-Katanga policy which we, along with the UN, have followed in the Congo, and why? Without knowing, how shall we judge, and approve or condemn?

But the assumption that all is well on the Congo front under the sway of a UN-blessed Adoula is a bit premature. Adoula was co-founder, with Patrice Lumumba, of Congo's extreme revolutionary nationalist party. When Adoula took office as Premier last August—by virtue of Lumumbist votes in a rump parliament—his first public pledge was to carry forward Lumumba's program. His first public act was to fly with Antoine Gizenga to the Belgrade conference, there to join with the neutralist leaders who declined to criticize the Soviet nuclear tests then started. Within a fortnight of his accession, Moscow and her satellites announced, with Adoula's (and UN) compliance, the return of their diplomatic establishments from Stanleyville to Léopoldville. Senator Thomas Dodd told the Senate (Jan. 25) how most of the bloody and cannibalistic deeds in North Katanga were the doing of soldiers of the Congolese army sent from Adoula's as well as Gizenga's formations, on several occasions transported and supplied by the UN. UN officials Conor Cruise O'Brien and George Ivan Smith greeted the Congolese "liberating army" when it arrived in Albertville, North Katanga, in November. Christophe Gbenye, Adoula's Minister of the Interior, is a Lumumbist and Communist, as is the man (Bocheley-Davidson) whom Adoula appointed as his governor for Katanga. For that matter, Adoula, in his address to the UN earlier this month, hailed Patrice Lumumba as "our national hero." His first major act after getting home from America was to announce his forthcoming journey to the Soviet Empire.

Is it so sure, then, that Cyrille Adoula, and not—perhaps—Moise Tshombe, is, or by right reason ought to be, "our man" in the Congo? And even if Adlai Stevenson and Harlan Cleveland are sure, should Congress and the citizens take their word for it without supporting evidence? Are we willing to buy UN pseudo-bonds to make good a deficit caused by the Congolese operation without finding out the facts about that operation?

The American Committee for Aid to Katanga Freedom Fighters announces that the report of its investigator, Professor Ernest van den Haag, on his findings in and concerning Katanga will be presented within a week or two. This will lift some part of the curtain. Two more things are required: the promised congressional investigation, preferably by a

qualified select committee; an end to the petty, vindictive and undignified refusal to let Moise Tshombe come to this country. Tshombe's visit should be authorized forthwith, so that our legislators, officials and citizens may, as in the case of Cyrille Adoula, hear and see what kind of man this is, and what he has to say.

In New York:

The Conservative Party

On February 16 a letter was mailed to approximately fifty thousand conservatives in New York State, announcing the formation of the Conservative Party, and soliciting contributions toward the initial organizing expenses. The letter was signed by a three-man committee representing the twenty-three members of the organizing committee, which is composed of educators, journalists, lawyers, writers, and businessmen—and includes two of NATIONAL REVIEW's editors, Frank S. Meyer and William F. Rickenbacker.

In almost any other state such an announcement would herald a major break in the two-party system, but in New York the tradition for almost two decades has been one of multi-party politics. The Liberal Party in New York, backed by several big trade unions and the Left, has consistently turned out about 300,000 voters in off years and about 400,000 in Presidential years—not much, seemingly, in the dense population of the state, but enough to apply a steady leftward pressure in state politics. The Democratic Party rarely names a candidate on whom the Liberal Party does not look with warm favor, and one Republican politician, Senator Jacob Javits, starting in 1946, actually ran several times on the combined tickets of the Republican and the Liberal parties.

As a consequence, many conservative voters in New York State have felt steadily deprived of the chance to cast a meaningful vote, to the point where, now, they consider the expression of conservative sentiment at the polls a depressed area. And conservatives have been virtually locked out by the present arrangements, which exclude primary elections for gubernatorial and senatorial candidates. The statewide conventions make the party nominations directly.

Thus, although the idea of multi-party politics would seem inappropriate on the national level (as Senator Goldwater has said), it seems normal and has proved useful in the very special conditions of New York politics. The Conservative Party in New York may be able to exert on the Republican Party, particularly, the kind of pressure that the Liberal Party has brought to bear on the Democrats.

In New York local and state politics, that would be a sparkling improvement. But there is more: New York is a big state, and its political character has weight in national conventions. No one knows at the moment how strong the conservative sentiment is in New York. If the professional politicians discover, through the activities of the new party, that there's something reasonable in New York to the right of, say, Nelson Rockefeller, the standard of the national Republican Party may shift to the right. How much, no one can say: but it would be all to the good.

No Spy in the Sky

Colonel Rudolf Abel, the Soviet spy serving time in a federal prison, has been released and handed over to another type of captivity, in exchange for the release and return of Francis Gary Powers, the American spy-pilot of U-2 fame. (The Communists tossed in an American student to sweeten the deal, but the Abel-Powers clause is the heart of the contract.)

Spy for spy, the Communists get the long end of this stick: Abel is an expert, with a headful of in-

formation to impart to his bosses, and with brains ready to work for the Kremlin. Powers is at best a rather shoddy soldier of fortune, recently misfortune, and may be unworthy of a job description even so acceptable as that. There is just one chance of U.S. advantage in the deal: the chance that Powers may remember, and remember accurately, and tell truthfully, something about whatever it was that brought him down. A precise knowledge of Soviet air defenses is logically prior to any U.S. decision on the type, size and tactics of the aerial strike force it must have. If Powers was hit by something we don't know exists, and if he can give us good knowledge of it, then we've got a good trade. But those are large ifs. There is the high probability that his U-2 (or Powers) simply ran out of gas, or burst a tug, and glided down to an altitude at which the Soviets could hit it with a rotten tomato.

On the technical point the question is open. But as a propaganda piece the prisoner exchange may provide our Liberal haruspices with yet one more chance to chant the mumbo-jumbo of "an easing of tensions," "thaw in the Cold War," "evidence of Soviet reasonableness," "good climate for Summit Meeting," and so on. Before they commence their Sacred Mysteries, let them be reminded that the present locale of Cold War tensions is not U.S. and Soviet prisons, but Laos, Indonesia, South Vietnam, Nepal, Berlin, Finland, Congo, Cuba.

War in Southeast Asia

The Communist field commanders in Laos and South Vietnam have evidently not heard of the East-West thaw and rapprochement that have become the latest topic for the publicists of the appeasement set: of Khrushchev's coos at Ambassador Thompson, son-in-law Adzhubei's luncheon chit-chat with President Kennedy, Foreign Minister Gromyko's heavy jokes with Press Secretary Salinger. In Laos the Pathet Lao presses its attack on the strategic town of Nam Tha. In Vietnam the Viet Cong ravages the villages and assassinates in the cities. In both countries the local guerrillas are supplied and reinforced by North Vietnam, Communist China and Russia.

In reality there is no contradiction between the seeming sweetness in the West and the grim fighting in the East. The combination follows the rules worked out long ago by Lenin, Stalin and Mao. The Western "easing of tensions" is precisely and by careful design the diversionary cover for the war in the East. And it is war, of course: not a new war, but the same war that does not cease but only shifts, from time to time, its form and color.

Have we learned at last? We had better learn soon, if we have not. For the serious problem right



now is not the idle chatter about Summit conferences on disarmament or the irresponsible demagoguery in the United Nations, but rather: Are we ready to make a stand, with our allies, in Southeast Asia, and to pay the price that a stand there may cost? If we are not ready, the enemy will be taking control of all of Southeast Asia, quite soon now.

To Market, To Market

Last month the Common Market reached agreement on agricultural policy, assuring the completion of the original schedule of coalition. As a result, Spain has asked for talks leading ultimately to full membership; Israel has devalued her currency in an effort to sell more in the Common Market; and Australia has begun to sit in on the talks between Britain and the Common Market. Greece, Turkey, Ireland, Denmark, Sweden, Austria and Switzerland are in various stages of negotiation. Certainly the recent agricultural agreement will affect the entire non-Communist world.

And the Common Market idea is fermenting elsewhere: in Africa, Asia and Latin America. Some economists argue for a general Common Market of the Free World, implying disapproval of the regional markets now appearing, on the ground that they are exclusive customs unions. But the experience we have had with world organizations should lead us to mistrust them. The European Common Market, far from being exclusive, has encouraged direct investment in Asia, Africa, Latin America; has sought the association of African, Commonwealth, and Eastern areas; and has invited the association of the United States in an Atlantic Community. Britain, correctly, sees the future of the West intertwined with the Common Market idea, and has therefore reversed her insular policy that had worked for a millennium; and Britain, last week, invited the United States to join her and the Common Market in the "closest" ties. We have been invited; we have so far declined; who is excluding whom?

Well, why should we join? For economic and political reasons. The Common Market makes economic sense. The economies of the members are growing at a faster rate than they would have had they remained "protected" and separated units. The existence of the Common Market brings about useful reforms, either by osmosis or by the drive for profit (read: efficiency). The Common Market has taken first steps toward solving the problem of subsidized agriculture. Spain, France and Britain are already connected through electrical power grids. Britain has even considered shifting to a decimal currency and driving on the right side of the road. And American enterprise, through direct investment

The Liberal Bookshelf

(A selected list of recent publications, compiled by the Conservative Club of the University of Miami, Florida)

* *Not One Soldier for Florida*, by Chester Moles. The veteran diplomat demonstrates that Florida is not vital to America's defense.

* *A Realistic Modern Approach to the American Dilemma*, by Norman Uncles. A thrilling plan for implementing socialism in the U.S. by 1970. Sure to pick up your spirits.

* *The Best Defense Against Communism is the Welfare State*, by Prof. Arthur Schmalzinger Jr. Persuasively argues that the best defense against murder is suicide.

* *I Shook Hands With McCarthy and Lived*, by Joseph Row. A spine-tingling, first-hand account of this harrowing experience.

* *Appeasers in Our Midst*, by Sen. J. W. Halfbright. Pinpoints the true danger, and issues a damning indictment of those soft on conservatism.

* *On to a Bigger National Debt*, a report by the Democratic National Committee.

* *The ACLU's Fight Against Communism*. Cleverly etched on the head of a pin. Purchasers are provided with a microscope.

* *Who Promoted J. Edgar Hoover?* By Major Irving Peress. A worthy addition to your library.

in Europe, is in effect joining on an enormous scale.

Politically, the Common Market is the West's answer to the Cold War. Since she started the negotiations, Britain has taken an increasingly strong line on the defense of Berlin (surely not an unpleasant message for Adenauer) and an increasingly hostile attitude toward the UN (surely music to de Gaulle). As the Common Market shows the promise of free market capitalism, so it disproves the Communist dogma of the eventual decay and collapse of capitalism. The negative argument is also in full view: for the Soviets have sought to dissuade Finland, Austria and the Scandinavian countries from joining the Common Market; and last week, Tito and Nasser announced their opposition to the Common Market and blasted it as an "imperialist" scheme.

Well, why should we not join? It seems certain that the underlying reason for the Administration's unwillingness to join with our historic allies is that our foreign policy remains firmly seated on the straw thrones of the neutralist nations. This policy, followed to its logical end, will have three results. 1) We will find ourselves going it alone in an ever diminishing area of non-Common-Market lands, and with an ever diminishing chance of joining the Common Market on terms favorable to us; the Common Market has already said that the Administration's tariff proposals may be an obstacle to any general

Is Kefauver a Drug Addict?

Since December 7, 1959 Senator Estes Kefauver has been investigating the drug industry. More accurately, Senator Kefauver has slandered that industry to get his name in the news.

Item. The subcommittee has timed its activities to give publicity to slanderous testimony. On January 23, 1960 Mike Gorman, an ex-journalist, said, "I accuse the pharmaceutical industry of America of contributing to the return of thousands of mental patients to mental hospitals because of the high price of the tranquilizing drugs." Gorman was called early in the day, before press deadlines. He made headlines. The same day, Dr. Henry Brill, deputy commissioner of hygiene for New York State, testified that tranquilizers had "suddenly reversed" the increase in mental hospital patients: "The favorable change has continued, and has advanced during the last four years." Dr. Brill was called late in the day. No headlines for him.

Item. Kefauver's subcommittee has loaded the record with captive testimony. It has called up disgruntled former employees of drug companies, academic figures known for their bias against big business, and organizations like Consumer's Union and the American Association of Retired Persons. Not called: the American Medical Association; the American College of Physicians; the American College of Surgeons; the American Academy of General Practice; the National Institutes of Health.

Item. In February 1960 a subcommittee economist produced two lists of drug products: one showed 48 drugs originated in the United States; the other showed 110 drugs originated overseas. But some of economist Blair's "drugs" were not drugs, and some were unidentifiable; and the overseas lists went back to the sixteenth century. On examination by industry experts, the lists revealed that since 1939 the United States had originated 35 to 40 drugs; Germany 14; Switzerland 7; France 5; and no other country more than three.

Item. The subcommittee staff produced figures showing that prices in U.S. dollars of some tranquilizers were greatly lower overseas. The subcommittee loudly asked why the American people couldn't get "the same break." Headlines, of course. The drug industry responded by translating U.S. dollar prices into foreign currencies and equating those prices with foreign wage levels. Result: U.S. real prices one-third those of Japan, half those of Italy, two-thirds those of West Germany, and only 16 per cent above those of France. No headlines.

Item. The subcommittee got headlines all over the country with charges of thousand-per cent markups in drugs. The industry responded by noting similar markups in other goods when the only two

figures used are raw material cost and final selling price: bread 620 per cent; man's white shirt 1,307 per cent; leaf tobacco 517 per cent; canned peas 584 per cent. No headlines.

Item. The subcommittee accused the drug industry of selling at lower prices to the government than to retailers. Headlines. The industry responded by pointing out the difference in sales techniques, production facilities, size of order. Four months later the subcommittee admitted that there was no reasonable basis of comparison between the two sales prices. No headlines.

Item. Senator Kefauver has simultaneously accused the drug industry of monopolistic practices and of spending too much money in competitive sales efforts.

Ah, well. Everyone knows Senator Kefauver. It's just too bad that he had to toss his spitballs at an industry that has performed miracles of medicine and mercy. And at a low price: between 1930 and 1958 the portion of each American health dollar spent on drugs actually declined, and the average person spends about one cent of each disposable dollar for drugs—as against four cents for amusements and five cents for tobacco and booze.

Says one doctor: "As a physician, a teacher, and a foundation executive, I wish to register my feeling that the people of America owe much to this industry—more than ever will be realized by them. There is not a needy patient in my practice who has had to purchase drugs; there is hardly a medical school that has not benefited from industry-supported research and there is not a medical foundation that could exist for long without the continuing help of the pharmaceutical companies of this country."

And an associate professor of pharmacology says: "In some ways, the drug companies serve the public interest quietly, and without fanfare. In many cases, a physician can arrange to have a destitute patient receive free medication through a drug company representative. Some companies manufacture and supply medications for rare diseases simply as a service to humanity. There is no possibility of profit, and a certainty of loss in such operations. For example, there are less than 100 cases of botulism per year in the United States. One company makes and supplies botulinus antitoxin to these cases free of charge. . . ."

One wonders: when will some Liberal, who has hotly attacked the investigatory power of Congress when that power was aimed at subversion, rise up to accuse Senator Estes Kefauver of his flagrant abuse of the investigatory power of Congress? Have all of them been—shall we say—drugged?

WILLIAM F. RICKENBACKER

tariff agreement. 2) The Administration's half-and-half policy will weaken our competitive ability by raising taxes and dislocating productive assets; will fail to correct the structural problems of our economy; and will fail to come to grips with the gold hemorrhage. 3) Finally, the United States will find itself in an informal economic alliance with all the "neutralists" of the world—an alliance whose sole economic feature will be their dependency. As witness: instead of negotiating with the Common Market last week, we sent Chester Bowles on a five-day visit to Cairo, presumably to arrange further gifts to Nasser in thanks for his anti-Western denunciation of the Common Market; and we sent Monsieur Robert Kennedy on a six-day visit to Sukarno, ostensibly to tell him we love the Dutch whom he's attacking, but most probably to tell him there's fresh cash available if he lays off; and, later this year, a Soviet trade delegation will visit the United States to arrange, of all things, a system of getting production licenses on our patents! Final item: the Administration is coming out loud and long for a \$100 million purchase of one half of the UN "bonds."

It looks very much as if all of the responsible, free, industrialized Western nations are getting in step—except us.

The North's Peculiar Problem

Very deliberately and very systematically, the NAACP has canvassed the nation north of the Mason-Dixon line and found literally hundreds of cities and towns in which public schools are, in effect, segregated. It has picked out 23 target communities where, through court orders, public outcry and pressures of all sorts, it intends to get segregation abolished, no matter what the difficulties. Segregation in the North usually follows from housing patterns, with some crisscrossing in the mixed residential areas and the districts where population shifts are underway.

The NAACP claims that this is not only morally wrong but illegal, and is mounting a major offensive to integrate these presently all-white or all-Negro schools by a variety of methods: through rezoning school districts and allowing open enrollment—as has been done in New York City; by regrouping the classes so that, say, all seventh and eighth graders in a single community will be physically situated in one school; by turning schools in predominantly Negro areas into administrative buildings and shifting the Negro pupils to neighboring predominantly white schools; by preventing the building of new schools or enlargement of old ones in Negro neighborhoods.

In going to the courts to enforce this slide-rule

type integration (30 Negro children in a school of 180 is not sufficient; 80-100 is just about right; 120 is too many), the NAACP goes far beyond *Brown v. Board of Education*, which makes only the negative finding that laws enforcing the segregation of public schools are unconstitutional. The Supreme Court did *not* proclaim enforced integration the law of the land. But more important, the NAACP is attempting to do—and through manifestly coercive measures—what cannot be done. It wants to ram through sociological changes of such complexity and delicacy as to place them beyond the reach of injunction, warrant and writ.

Washington, D.C., the first Southern city to integrate its schools, provides a good example. Having passed through every stage from almost total segregation, in 1954, to relatively evenly mixed schools in the late 50's, Washington is now, in 1962, back to between 70 and 80 per cent segregation: not by law, but by preference, for as Negroes moved in to get their children into integrated classrooms, the whites moved out. Another recent example from an integrated housing development in Norwalk, Connecticut, shows how these abstractions on racial relations run to absurdity when carried to their logical conclusion. In the integrated Village Creek development, a Negro electronics technician has been prevented from buying a home by his would-be Negro neighbors, with the tacit backing of the NAACP. The resident Negroes argued that for Charles Vaught to buy a home on Split Rock Road would be to undermine the racial balance of the neighborhood. (Nine Negro home-owners on Split Rock Road are all right; ten are too many.) And they kept Mr. Vaught out. They were forced, as the *Reporter* magazine so aptly summed it up, to "discriminate in order to keep from segregating."

Check, Please

Whenever Secretary Thant
Tells creditor accounts, "I can't!"
He doesn't take it on the lam . . .
He takes the bills to Uncle Sam.

Though nervous functionaries show
The bills that other countries owe,
The Secretary claims that Sam
Enjoys to pay—*ad nauseam*.

In fact, when Mrs. Roosevelt
Told U exactly how *she* felt,
He nodded: "But of *course*, Madame;
The softest touch is Uncle Sam!"

W. H. VON DREELE

From Washington Straight

CATO



George Romney, Liberalism's new compact Presidential candidate, rambled into town a few days ago for an appearance on *Meet the Press*. If his purpose was to get a 1964 bandwagon rolling for him among the powers-that-be in the GOP's Washington division, he might just as well have saved himself the trip. He went over with the Republican leadership like a lead balloon, and in one easy lesson too. What infuriated the Republican leaders was Romney's bland assumption that his "surprise" decision (it was no surprise when the announcement was made eight days later) to run for the governorship of Michigan on a Republican ticket was purely a matter of expediency. I don't really care very much for the Republican Party, Romney seemed to be saying, but it's a handy instrument which can be used to satisfy my personal ambitions.

To make doubly sure every professional legislator on the Hill would get his bristles up, he commented to one newsman: "All politicians are crooks." (All politicians, note, not just all Democrats and all reactionary Republicans. The wags are saying Romney's been asked to star in a new show entitled: *How Not to Succeed in Politics While Really Trying.*)

What's behind Mr. Romney's sudden appearance on the Presidential scene? The insiders think they have the answer which is that, one way or the other, Nelson Rockefeller is going to be scratched. Nixon—well, the Liberal wing of the party never has totally trusted him after his nastiness to Alger Hiss and Helen Gahagan Douglas—which means that someone must be groomed to pick up the regimental colors and charge into the Presidential fray against Barry Goldwater, who is gaining ground by the minute. So the Rockefeller machine (which was also the Willkie, Dewey and Eisenhower machine) has revved up and begun to crank out reams of Romney copy (see last week's *Life*, recent *New York Times*, *Meet the Press*, etc.).

If this analysis is true, and from all indications it is, we're all going to be up to our hips in Romney propaganda. But some of the pros hereabouts think it's not going to work. And this is why they believe the Romney boomlet will be stopped.

It's a desperation candidacy, they say, based on the assumption that the American Motors president will blitz the Michigan electorate and win the governorship in a landslide. But recent Michigan polls dispute this assumption. They project a rocky road ahead for Romney. He may make it in *Michigan*, where he'll be running against the lackluster and ineffective John Swainson, but only if he gets Walter Reuther's support. And that would be the kiss of death in the Republican Party on a national scale.

There's one more dimension which the Romney boosters may have overlooked. If they build up their man as the man to defeat Goldwater at the nominating convention in '64—and this is clearly what they are doing—Republican conservatives might well decide to sit it out in Michigan this fall.

The Stennis Committee hearings have been proceeding at a snail's pace in recent weeks. All sorts of corollary issues have diverted the investigation from its original purpose—to find out who has been muzzling the military and, more important, why? At the moment, the Committee is bogged down in the touchy question of Executive privilege: shall or shall not Secretary McNamara be forced to identify the censors who cut out such controversial statements as "The steady advance of Communism," or "the Communist challenge" from speeches by military leaders. But since Sen. Strom Thurmond is reliably reported to have the names of the individual censors anyway, the whole question of Executive privilege here is probably moot.

A side issue developing out of the muzzling hearings which here, at

least, is causing considerable critical fallout in congressional and press circles is the identity of the gentleman who does the nightly 11:00 P.M. newscast for the *Washington Post's* TV-outlet, WTOP. He turns out to be Tony Sylvester, son of Assistant Secretary of Defense Arthur Sylvester (who played a major part in the rep-primand of Gen. Walker). Young Sylvester, who joined WTOP not long after his father came to Washington, is accused by investigators of the Senate Committee of deliberately slanting his reporting to favor his father and his father's Defense Department colleagues in connection with the muzzling investigation. (The *Washington Post*, having examined and exonerated itself, denied this.)

That would not, of and by itself, particularly arouse much of the Washington press corps, but the members of the Fourth Estate are getting riled over another aspect of young Sylvester's present job. You hear talk these days that he's getting preferential treatment in the way of news breaks from the Defense Department's office of Public Affairs—which his father runs.

The man behind the new State Department regulations eliminating the non-Communist affidavit from the new passport form and insisting on the right of the applicant to examine the evidence on which he has been barred a passport, is believed to be Abram Chayes, new chief legal officer of the State Department—a Kennedy appointee who was legal adviser to Chester Bowles when Bowles was Connecticut governor in 1949 and, more recently, a professor at Harvard. Chayes evidently disregarded expert testimony by security officials at the extensive Senate Government Operations Committee hearings in 1959 that they would rather have no bill at all than one which opened confidential files to the Communists. Rep. Walter, Chairman of HUAC, is pushing hard for legislation to straighten out the situation.

Will Formosa Save the United States?

A recent visitor to a defiant outpost under the guns of the enemy suggests that Taiwan's mission may be to free us from creeping Liberal paralysis

WM. F. BUCKLEY JR.

I have lectured before to military aggregations and I am aware of the preference of your profession for direct action, whether military or rhetorical. The day before yesterday, at Quemoy, Captain Wang succeeded in a mere fifteen minutes in giving his visitors a comprehensive view of the military and strategic situation involving that perky redoubt: but I could not hope to do so well as he, in telling you¹ things you need to know about the Liberal mind in America, things which are as important to understand as is the mind of the enemy. So let me, please, wind into this complex subject in my own oblique way.

One learns from a study of opposites. And my experience during the past few days in Taiwan has given me knowledge not only of your own situation, but knowledge as well, by contrast, of our own in America. I cannot say that I have come to know Taiwan or its people or its officials. I can only say that during the past five days I have engaged in Stakhanovite endeavors to learn something about yourselves and your great enterprise. I feel like Will Rogers, who came back to New York from Russia in 1931, having made a short trip there, which included a visit to one of Russia's famous community baths. "Did you see all of Russia?" a reporter asked the humorist when he landed. "No," he said, "but I saw all of parts of Russia." I have seen all of parts of Taiwan—surely there does not exist a Chinese or Taiwanese dish that I have not gratefully consumed. And surely there does not exist, in all your vast repository, a single resource of hospitality and kindness that I have not tasted. And I have seen something of your agricultural program, your dam-building, your bureaucracy, your

intellectuals, your politicians, your press, your diplomats, your soldiers, your strategists, your propagandists: but most important, I have seen something of your spirit. And it is in sharp contrast to the spirit of many men strategically situated in America. They are people who call themselves Liberals. The historians among you will immediately object that they have no title to that august designation: but the world of words is ruled by an absolute democracy: so that today in America, those people have come to be known as Liberals who in domestic affairs argue for an increase in the concentration of social, political and economic power in the hands of the state; and who in foreign policy follow the road of appeasement and withdrawal, for reasons that derive from their dependence upon a complex of philosophical heresies.

The American Liberal

Assume that change dominates man, rather than that man can dominate change; assume that God is dead; assume that the people of the world will respond with Pavlovian predictability to material inducements; assume that it is within the power of the human will to produce instant prosperity; assume that the enemy's movement is essentially a response, however misconceived, to the legitimate social aspirations of the people; assume that nothing is more important than peace, and that the way to have peace is to compromise with the enemy; assume all those things, and those many other things that derive from them, and you have the archetype of the American Liberal. You have, in a word, Chester Bowles.

You may not be aware that in the United States there is at this moment a festering dissatisfaction with the

failures of American foreign policy, and that some of those whose distress is keen have come up with the theory that the reason the Free World has lost so much in recent years is because we have been, in the orthodox sense, betrayed. These persons reason schematically, as though on a blackboard—as follows:

Premise A: The United States was, in 1945, the most powerful nation in the world. Militarily it was supreme. Its allies controlled over two-thirds of the world's surface, and the overwhelming part of the world's wealth. The enemy's home base, in contrast, was racked by the ravages of war. An internal police force of three million persons was needed to maintain the Bolshevik despotism. . . .

Premise B: Fifteen years later China was gone, as was eastern Europe. Communist revolutionaries were at work throughout the world, the enemy had got hold of the atomic bomb and intercontinental rockets, and secured a base ninety miles from the Florida coast.

Conclusion: It can only be that American foreign policy has been subverted by Communist agents.

A Failure of Will

That analysis has a superficial appeal. But those who adopt it—and they are very few, though they have lately received much publicity—fail to understand: the American Liberal. It is he who has, by and large, most greatly influenced American foreign policy since the war. These men and women are not Communists. They are anti-Communists. The trouble is not that of motivation. The trouble is that the Liberals do not understand reality, and do not feel the devotion to our cause that alone can generate the will to victory.

Rather than illustrate what I mean by examining the Liberals' position

1. Address to the National Defense Research Institute, Taiwan, November 21, 1961.

on general categories or problems, let us bear down on the Liberals' attitude toward your own country, and your own enterprise.

They begin: The reason for the loss of the mainland was the corruption and ensuing impotence of the Government of Chiang Kai-shek.

One replies: a number of things contributed to the loss of the mainland. Among them was the ambiguity of American support of Chiang during the postwar years, and the artificial exuberance and audacity of the Communist movements everywhere when the weakness of the Western will was fully realized. Would the Chinese Communists have dared do what they did had the United States, for instance, prepared to go to war if necessary in 1946 to require the Soviet Union to live up to its pledges with respect to Poland? But uncongenial facts shatter against the breastworks of Liberal dogma.

We can state as Liberal proposition One: *Every Communist success is to be explained in terms of the internal situation.* American leadership has nothing to do with it. Thus the Liberals tell us it was the corruption of Batista that led to Castro's satellization of Cuba—it had nothing to

do with any failure of the United States, during 1958 and in the early months of Castro's tenure, properly to assess, and then control, the evolution of Castro's government. In Laos, we are told, there is nothing we can do. Internal events: the aggressions of the Communists, the irresolution and confusion of the Laotian forces, the difficulty of the terrain, the poverty of the people, leave us with no alternative than merely to stand by—with perhaps an occasional trip to the scene by Lyndon Johnson to deliver grandiose elegies. There are those, including myself, who have difficulty locating the so-called New Frontier. But one thing is clear: As we have said in NATIONAL REVIEW, in Laos, the New Frontier is five hundred miles closer to the United States than it used to be.

There was nothing we could do—to you remember?—to prevent the loss of Czechoslovakia, the suppression of the Budapest rioters, the Communization of Tibet, all of them allegedly the result of internal imperatives. Similarly, the Liberals are prepared to say, there is nothing we can do if a majority of the delegates to the General Assembly of the

United Nations decide to recognize the government of Mao Tse-tung as the legal representative of China.

Submission to Change

They go on. "It is unrealistic to talk about the liberation of China. What is done is done, and the best we can do is come to grips with reality."

One replies: But the facts argue that there are great possibilities, if we move decisively. The facts show that the control by the Communists over mainland China is weaker today than it was ten years ago, notwithstanding an attempted euthanasia of the middle class, a continuing program of hatred against the West, and against Chiang Kai-shek in particular. The facts show that China, like cordite, sits nervously by, waiting to be touched by a spark. Apply it, and China might burst into flames—flames which would consume the Communist leadership.

Thus we state Liberal proposition Two: *There is no changing an adverse existing situation.*

If mainland China is in the hands of the Communists, we must proceed on the assumption that it will always be in the hands of the Communists. The United States Government made a half-hearted attempt to change the course of events in Cuba: the Liberals, including those within the Administration, disapproved of this effort to defy historical determinism. And so, the effort having failed as the result of a last minute submission by the President to Liberal dogma, Cuba has been progressively totalitarianized. And no meaningful plans are now being made for its liberation. The scattered forces of resistance, mostly clustered in Greater Miami, face the same situation you faced ten years ago: but with this difference. They have no Taiwan to which to flee. And they have no acknowledged leader behind whose banner to consolidate. Otherwise it is much the same. They dream of liberation, even as the White Russians used to do in Paris during the 1920s; but can they hope? For there is no American policy of liberation.

Change is defined, according to Liberal usage, as that which works against the Free World. There is no such thing as "change" away from



Communism. Did you notice that when the East Germans erected the Wall in Berlin on the 13th of August, there was no protest from the United States Government? Or rather, there was a protest, but that was all, and Khrushchev counts it a day lost that he does not receive at least one Western protest. Now our calculations are based on the fact of the Wall, not on the question whether we can succeed in tearing it down. In British Guiana our calculations are based on the fact that a Communist has been elected premier—not on the question whether he can be removed. In Indonesia our policy is based on the fact of Sukarno's pre-eminence—not on the question whether the anti-Communist rebels could be helped to overthrow it. And in the Far East, our policy is based on the fact of Red Chinese control of the mainland—not on the question whether we might succeed in restoring the mainland to anti-Communist control.

The Liberals go on: *An offensive by Formosa is likely to bring on a third world war, which will be the end of all of us.*

One replies: In fact, the Soviet Union will not engage in a nuclear war so long as she is convinced that the United States is ready to reply in kind, and has the capacity to do so. That is what is generally called the nuclear stalemate, or the balance of terror. It gave birth to the concept of the limited war, and it is that kind of a war of liberation which those who would re-enter China favor.

What Finally, Surrender?

And so we come to Liberal proposition Three: *All the roads that lead to the recovery of freedom, or to the diminution of Communist power, are closed to us, because to follow them would mean to risk nuclear war.* This is the clinching argument in all Liberal rhetoric, by which they seek to paralyze all purposive action, everywhere in the world, that aims at the improvement of the position of the Free World.

This is the ultimate mischief that Liberalism is capable of performing, and in this respect Liberalism most clearly does the work of the Communists, the object of whose propaganda for years has been discernible, namely, to terrorize the West into

inactivity by threats of nuclear war. Every year, the movement for unilateral disarmament grows. The ultimate meaning for the world of the Liberals' strategic counsels can only mean surrender. And indeed that precisely is the word that a few brave cowards are finally using these days.

"For the first time in America," wrote Mr. Joseph Alsop a few weeks ago, "one or two voices are beginning to be heard, arguing that what ought to be done is to surrender." "Mr. Kennedy says Berlin is not negotiable," writes Mr. John Crosby in his column. "Why isn't it? Why isn't anything negotiable rather than thermonuclear war? . . . Are we going to wipe out two and a half billion years of slow biological improvement in a thermonuclear war? Over what—Berlin? [Read: Over what, Quemoy? Ankara? Taiwan? Mexico City? Miami?] I agree with Nehru that to go to war under any circumstances for anything at all in our world in our time is utter absurdity. . . . I certainly think Berlin is negotiable and, as a matter of fact, Khrushchev is not even asking very much . . . [and after all] Communism . . . is not that bad, and some day we're going to have to face up to that. . . ." And Mr. Kenneth Tynan, the English critic, agrees. "Better Red than dead," he writes, "seems an obvious doctrine for anyone not consumed by a death-wish: I would rather live on my knees than die on my knees."

Well, assuming it is death toward which we are headed as a result of our determination to stay free, let it be said that Mr. Tynan would not need to die on his knees, but rather standing up, which is how those of his ancestors died at Runnymede, at Agincourt, at Hastings, at Dunkirk, who fought for the freedom of their descendants to exhibit their moral idiocy. Mr. Crosby advances as a substitute for the slogan, "Give us liberty or give us death," the slogan, "John Crosby is too young to die." Let them live. There remain impenetrable corners of the Soviet Union where Messrs. Crosby and Tynan could store up their 2,500 calories per day and remain absolutely free from the hounds of radioactivity, if not from the horrors of Bolshevism. But let them not contaminate the air that free men breathe.

The point is that the surest way

to have peace is to show our determination to wage war if necessary. Surely that paradox is not too difficult for two professional students of the drama to understand.

Those Rare Spirits

The way to have peace and freedom for all the world is to neutralize those powers that are hell-bent on war and slavery. And the way to effect progress, on the Chinese front as on all other fronts, is militantly to encourage those rare spirits—and I am surrounded by them here tonight—who are willing to risk their lives in order to bring freedom to themselves and their families, and to decrease the possibility of a nuclear war at some later stage, when, conceivably, the enemy might outpace the United States in the development of a definite weapon. Any sign of weakness by the Free World increases the appetite of the enemy for more war and more conquest as surely as the progressive revelations of the stripteaser increase the appetite of the lecher. What is more, prolonged delays could advance the ascendancy of the pacifist movement, the results of which would mean, inexorably, war, and slavery, for the entire world.

That vivid contrast, then, to which I have alluded, and from which I have learned so much from this visit, is between, on the one hand, the hopes and plans of the leadership of your movement, and, on the other, the worries and fears of the leadership of the Liberal movement in America. We are more powerful than you by far; richer than you by many billions of dollars. But by your example, we may yet live. For a few stunning days, early in November in 1956, the freedom fighters of Budapest held the entire Communist world at bay. America was struck by the intensity—and efficacy—of the anti-Communist spirit, and we were breathless with wonder and admiration. But in the end, we did nothing. "For a while," Mr. Eugene Lyons, a wise and veteran American anti-Communist, remarked to me, "it looked almost as though Budapest would liberate the United States." I leave Taiwan believing that it may be your mission to liberate the United States.

The Third World War

La Triste France

JAMES BURNHAM

In Algeria, juridically still part of the French nation, there now exists the classic revolutionary condition of "multiple power." Three rival sovereigns exist simultaneously in the same locale: the National Liberation Front (FLN), operating in the name of the "Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic" (GPRA); the Secret Army Organization (OAS); the de Gaulle government. (The Communists, who have lately stepped up activities, represent a fourth sovereign, though they now work through the FLN and the de Gaulle institutions.)

Now it is impossible for several sovereign powers to coexist very long in the same community. There must, in the last analysis, be only one source of public order, one final authority over access to the streets, one chain of command for police, prisons, army and through these for the citizens. If there are two or more distinct and rival powers, one of them must prevail, or the community will divide.

Inside Algeria—which by the way, has four times the area of metropolitan France—the Secret Army has become the strongest of the competing powers. From hope, fear or desperation, nearly all of the million and a quarter Christian Algerians of European origin and most of the 150,000 Algerian Jews support the Secret Army and follow its orders. Many Moslems also adhere to the Secret Army—some because they prefer French to GPRA rule, others because they respect or fear the Secret Army's power—and the number is growing. The contest, now, is for power, not popularity.

The FLN rates second. Although French officials, soldiers and police remain nominally the representatives of the Paris government, Paris is actually lowest in the power scale. No one knows whose orders the officials, police and soldiers will follow in a crisis; in fact, everyone knows that many of them are with the Secret Army. If they were not, it would never have got anywhere.

The objective of the Secret Army is to keep Algeria French (*Algérie française*). The objective of the FLN is an Algeria totally independent of France. These two objectives are irreconcilable contraries. They constitute the two poles of the Algerian crisis.

Strategy and Objectives

The Paris government, under de Gaulle, has accepted the basic objective of the FLN: an independent Algeria. It does so out of motives different from the FLN's, and with certain qualifications. But motives, qualifications and tactics are subordinate to strategy. In Algeria, de Gaulle and the FLN—and the Communists too, of course—have the same strategic line. Therefore the FLN, de Gaulle and the Communists tend to be thrown into a common front against the Secret Army. It is this that has produced the disintegration of Paris' authority in the police, army and bureaus of Algeria: as individuals, the policemen, soldiers, clerks and officials do not want to be in a common front with Arab terrorists and Communist traitors against their countrymen. But Paris' policy entails that front. Therefore their subjective loyalty shifts from Paris to the Secret Army, from de Gaulle to Salan.

If Algeria were an abstracted enclave, it is probable that the Secret Army could defeat the common front and take power. But Algeria cannot be isolated. The Gaullist power in Algeria is an arm of the governing power in France. The Algerian Communists are linked not only to the French Communists but to the world Communist enterprise. The FLN, too, is connected with the wider Arab and anti-colonial movements.

The tactics of the Secret Army, especially since last spring's putsch, have been brilliant, and amazingly successful. But its strategy has been inadequate, indeed hopeless. The analysis of the situation shows that the

Secret Army cannot succeed in Algeria (achieve an *Algérie française*, that is) without defeating the Gaullist power as well as the FLN and the Communists. But since the Gaullist power in Algeria is only an extension of the Gaullist power in metropolitan France, it follows that to succeed in Algeria the Secret Army must also defeat the Gaullist power in France. "Defeat" would mean compelling the Paris government to alter its objective of turning Algeria over to the FLN. Theoretically, this could happen through a change of mind on de Gaulle's part; more probably by de Gaulle's elimination from the Paris régime.

Not Quite Too Late

These are the strategic realities that made inevitable the current extension of the Algerian struggle to metropolitan France. There the relationship of forces is changed, since neither the FLN nor the Secret Army has a large "spontaneous" popular base. But the Secret Army expresses, at a deeper level, the historical interest of France as a nation, and of the West. This becomes apparent as the Communists—inevitably—emerge as the dominant component of the fight against the Secret Army in metropolitan France. The appearance of the Communists on the streets forces more and more Frenchmen to line up with the Secret Army in an anti-Communist front, just as it compels the suicidal Left to line up with the Communists in a revival of the anti-Western united front. It may be presumed that the anti-Communist and therefore pro-Secret Army potential is especially strong in the armed services. Some of France's outstanding leaders—Georges Bidault, Marshal Juin, Jacques Soustelle, Maurice Faure among them—have by their support of *Algérie française* openly aligned themselves with the Secret Army. There is reason to believe that some members of de Gaulle's own *équipe* are privately with them.

De Gaulle's lofty air of self-confidence and optimism is fatuous. It is too late for an easy solution. There is still time, and a very small chance, for the correct solution: but only if de Gaulle, by heroic choice or unavoidable compulsion, gives way.

Walter Lippmann Not the Anti-Christ

The author of *The Conservative Mind* appraises
the asseveration of Mr. Lippmann that Senator
Goldwater is not truly conservative . . .

RUSSELL KIRK

My heading I borrow from a nineteenth-century tract, of several hundred pages, entitled "Louis Napoleon Not the Anti-Christ," which is the finest left-handed compliment I know. Now Mr. Lippmann has been denounced from Right and Left, over the years, by persons who seem to confound him with the Beast of Revelation; so I observe that for my part, I consider Mr. Lippmann more or less on the side of the angels. I merely happen to disagree with certain of his present opinions.

When Mr. Lippmann published his sound and influential book, *The Public Philosophy*, he was assailed by all sorts of twentieth-century—but archaic—Jacobins and Marxists. Mr. Archibald MacLeish, perhaps the silliest man in these United States, declared in the *Yale Review* that scoundrelly Lippmann was worse than Joseph McCarthy: true, Mr. MacLeish was compelled to admit, Mr. Lippmann had declared publicly that he disapproved of Senator McCarthy; but this was only a blind, to veil Lippmann designs yet more insidious. Professor Oscar Handlin, of the Department of History at Harvard, was no less vehement in his denunciation in the pages of *Commentary*—and unintentionally exposed himself as an historical ignoramus by the side of Mr. Lippmann. So one ought to love Mr. Lippmann for the enemies he has made.

Also, of course, silly people of a conservative bent—and some not so silly and more genuinely conservative—have poured vitriol upon Mr. Lippmann's head because of his somewhat pontifical expressions of opinion concerning foreign policy. To such I say only that often I sympathize far more with their prudential judgments in this field than I do with Mr. Lippmann's; but one ought to remind oneself that apparently erroneous judgments about Communist

power do not make a man a Communist sympathizer, any more than President Eisenhower's sad blunders in the Hungarian crisis converted him into an agent of the Kremlin.

My immediate point, however, is this: having been so often the butt of unjustified abuse, Mr. Lippmann—one might expect—would be careful himself about attaching silly labels to people, and sedulous to represent their beliefs accurately, even when he does not agree with their opinions. Mr. Lippmann is a gentleman—and a really educated man—of conservative first principles. He knows that conservatism is the negation of ideology: that is, conservatives are not fanatics, and they do not make a set of political dogmas a substitute for religion. He knows that intelligent and well-meaning conservatives always will differ among themselves upon prudential questions, for conservatism is a way of looking at human nature and society, not a catechism of pat remedies for all the ills to which flesh is heir.

Out of Character

Yet Mr. Lippmann has fallen into a habit of abusing certain practical conservatives which is little short of demagoguery. He writes of "radical Right extremists like Senator Goldwater among the Republicans and Senator Thurmond among the Democrats." They are "in revolt against all the main developments of the twentieth century," he informs us. (What! Don't they love this wonderful, happy century of ours?) They are "reactionary radicals who would like to repeal the twentieth century." They don't understand Communism. "They are against foreign aid which is used to help new countries and weak countries help themselves without succumbing to Communism. They despise the United Nations which has

so much to do in opening up for the new and inexperienced countries the roads to freedom." (These quotations are from Mr. Lippmann's *Herald Tribune* column of last December 10; they are representative enough of his general line in such matters.)

Now the conservative senators whom Mr. Lippmann postulates above are senators of straw, bearing small resemblance to the actual Senator Goldwater and the actual Senator Thurmond. Though I never have happened to meet Senator Thurmond, I judge that he is a gentleman of some courage and ability; and his public utterances do not justify Mr. Lippmann's strictures. Senator Goldwater I happen to know fairly well, and I know that Mr. Lippmann's caricature of Senator Goldwater's convictions would tickle the gentleman from Arizona, who possesses a remarkably healthy sense of humor. If Mr. Lippmann had taken the trouble to read what Senator Goldwater actually has said about foreign aid, for instance—in his "Forgotten American" statement, and in recent speeches—he would have discovered that Senator Goldwater would like to relate foreign aid to our military exigencies, and to prevent waste so far as possible. With regard to the United Nations Organization, Senator Goldwater has been less outspoken about its blunders than have been some congressmen of the Democratic Party, and only very recently did he conclude that the United States ought to withdraw from the UN—a good while after Senator Fulbright (whom Mr. Lippmann, in his same column, praises to the skies) substantially wrote off the United Nations as not long for this world, in a *Foreign Affairs* article. If it is a mark of political lunacy to criticize the UN, what will Mr. Lippmann say to Representative Wayne Hays of Ohio, Liberal Democrat, who declared not long

ago that anyone who subscribes to the UN bond-issue must have holes in his head? Is Mr. Hays, too, a reactionary radical?

This comminatory employment of the Marxist term "reactionary," by the way, sits uncomfortably on the shoulders of the author of *A Preface to Morals*, *The Good Society*, and *The Public Philosophy*; it is almost as if Mr. Lippmann's recent columns were written not by an elderly serious journalist, but rather by some office boy, given to reading the *Nation*, who had got at Mr. Lippmann's dictating machine after hours. For as Roy Campbell used to say, a human body which no longer can react is a corpse; and that is as true of nations. All thinking Americans have reacted against the great terrible political event of our time, the Bolshevik Revolution; and most of them have reacted sensibly. Burke, whom Mr. Lippmann much admires, was a reactionary: he reacted against the tremendous error of his age, the Jacobin frenzy. Only an idiot never reacts. The question, rather, is whether we react healthily or morbidly, prudently or frantically.

Beyond Differences of Opinion

I do not maintain that Mr. Lippmann is a dunce or a fellow traveler of the Soviets simply because he advocates a policy of perpetual negotiation with Communist Russia—almost of negotiation for negotiation's sake. I do believe him to be seriously in error in a matter of high moment. Doubtless Mr. Lippmann believes Senator Goldwater and Senator Thurmond to be seriously in error when they advocate stern resolution in the face of Soviet threats and intrigues. They think him too malleable, he thinks them too inflexible. But can such a difference of opinion as to policy justify the use of abusive epithets and misrepresentation of views by a writer whom a large public has come to regard as eminently responsible? Can it justify Mr. Lippmann in declaring without qualification that "they do not want the alliances with which we have contained Communism in Europe . . ."? Both Senator Goldwater and Senator Thurmond have repeatedly endorsed and endeavored to strengthen such alliances; indeed one of their chief

objections to the present tendency of the United Nations is that it is working to dissolve the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, so much more important to our real security. And can it justify him in declaring that if these senators had their way, there would be a thermonuclear war over Berlin? Here Mr. Lippmann may part company with such eminent Democrats as Mr. Dean Acheson and General Clay, who feel that firmness at Berlin is required precisely to hold off a thermonuclear war.

Senator Fulbright is a conservative, according to Mr. Lippmann, but



Senators Goldwater and Thurmond aren't. "Because they themselves are so secure and certain about what is essential and fundamental," Mr. Lippmann writes concerning genuine conservatives like Churchill, "the most intelligent conservatives are liberal in temper and progressive in policy."

That is true enough, properly understood. But in a time when the fountains of the great deep are broken up, even the secure offices of the *Herald Tribune* (what am I writing of? Why, rumor has it that even the *Herald Tribune*, in this time of troubles, may go the dusty way of the *Boston Evening Transcript*)—well, even the quasi-secure offices of the *Herald Tribune*, I say, may become the refuge of a fatuous complacency. To be secure and certain of what Mr. T. S. Eliot calls "the enduring things" truly is a mark of a vital conservatism: to live by norms. But to feel secure and certain about a world which trembles on the brink of dissolution—to beam smugly upon

the collapse of the old order in Laos, or the yielding of Berlin to the Communist domination, merely because as yet no commissar is pounding at the doors of the *Herald Tribune*—this is the stagnant conservatism of mere possession and complacency. It is scarcely better than the conservative mood of Fafnir: "Let me rest: I lie in possession." It is the kind of conservatism Brooks Adams had in mind when he wrote, "With conservative populations, slaughter is nature's remedy."

And surely this is not the conservatism of Burke. "We are combatting an armed doctrine," Burke told apathetic Englishmen who, at first, preferred the counsels of eighteenth-century Walter Lippmanns. Burke knew that the dread power of ideology will not be satisfied by protracted negotiations or some old-fangled minor concessions. Fanaticism cannot rest short of heaven—or hell. Today we confront in the Soviets, as England confronted in Jacobin France, the ferocity and restlessness of a political religion.

Forgotten Facts

It is true that the intensity of the Communist crusade has diminished somewhat since the beginning of the Bolshevik Revolution; it is true that here and there compromises may be arranged, and truces patched up. But even such temporizing is possible only from a position of strength, the one thing the ideologue respects. And the demands of the Soviets, in any negotiation, can be resisted only by counter-demands, or prior demands, of our own. In Khrushchev and his kind we have to do with men intoxicated with *pleonexia*, the lust for power that ceases not till death; and they are quite a different breed from well-intentioned, much-read—if somewhat irritable—American journalists who like their peace and quiet. "To them," Burke wrote of the French zealots, "the will, the wish, the want, the liberty, the toil, the blood of individuals is nothing." This is truer still of the masters of Soviet Russia.

Faith in the enduring things is one mark of the thinking conservative. Another characteristic of imaginative conservatives is their strong

(Continued on p. 145)

Principles and Heresies

FRANK S. MEYER

The Liberal Veto

CONTEMPORARY American conservatism as a conscious movement has come into existence largely in reaction to the development of the Liberal revolution of the last few decades. Nevertheless, despite these origins and despite the fact that, almost universally, conscious conservatives condemn Liberalism, there seems to be among many conservatives a certain lack of understanding of what Liberalism essentially is.

This leads to practical political problems of the utmost immediate importance — and in diverse quarters. It is clear how the lack of understanding of Liberalism that sees actual Communists or conscious Communist supporters in every American activity that objectively helps the Communists (when in actual fact usually it is not Communist ideology but Liberal ideology that is responsible), can disorient conservatives in their double battle against Communism and Liberalism. But at a pole of the conservative temper far removed from this outlook, there is another, and in the long run perhaps even more self-defeating form of blindness to the nature of Liberalism. This expresses itself in the idea that because of the pressing immediate danger from Communism, the main task of conservatives is to make an alliance with important sectors of the Liberal establishment, sinking all their conservative principles except anti-Communism. It is the kind of thinking which places high hopes in the anti-Communist stance of a Romney or a Rockefeller, or in persons within and around the Administration who are a little more aware of reality than those who comprise its blatant appeasement wing.



Meyer

Considering the immediate menace of Communism, there might be some practical political wisdom to this if Liberals as *Liberals* were capable of understanding the character of the struggle with Communism and of concerting an effective anti-Communist policy. Indeed, since Liberals are not, like Communists, men whose whole person is cast in the image of their ideology and since their instincts and their underlying upbringing are essentially at war with their Liberal ideology, many of them may very well one day adhere to a clear anti-Communist policy—but only after such a policy has been developed by non-Liberals on premises other than the premises of the Liberal ideology and when that policy has achieved substantial political support.

This is not to deny that in the intervening period it may be possible from time to time to gain the support of Liberals on specific issues in specific situations. Even on such specific issues, however, the initiative is not likely to come from Liberal quarters. And certainly the Liberals are not able to develop an effective over-all anti-Communist policy, nor even to participate in the development of such a policy under any circumstances in which the fundamental premises of Liberalism would come to bear.

For the underlying assumptions of the Liberal mind are such that they continuously veto the necessary principles for the conduct of a successful struggle against the horror of Communism—as they did not veto a successful struggle against the horror of Nazism. I use the word “horror” advisedly. As one reads the Liberal journals or the statements of Liberal spokesmen; as one studies the sort of thing that Liberal censors, following the Fulbright Memorandum, have cut out of the speeches of our military officers; as one observes how they seize on every will-o’-the-wisp,

from the “agrarian reformer” myth of the thirties to “Sino-Soviet enmity” today, which can distract attention from the reality of Communism—and then thinks back upon the kind of language the Liberals were using in 1938 and 1939 and 1940 about Nazism, it is clear that the equal monstrosity and the greater threat of Communism does not and cannot inspire in them a deep conviction of the kind they held about Nazism. They simply do not feel about Communism, as they did about Nazism, that this is an enemy so thoroughly alien and so threatening to Western civilization that it must be defeated if freedom and truth are to survive.

THIS incapacity of the Liberal mind to understand Communism in its full horror is the essential tragic cause of the devastating retreat of the United States and the West before Communism. The reasons why this is so—why the Liberals cannot lead the fight against Communism—are not far to seek. To consider only a few of them: The Liberal commitment to positivism destroys belief in the transcendent values upon which Western civilization is based. The Liberal commitment to relativism cuts away the foundation of that loyalty unto death to Western values which is essential if, under the somber conditions of modern technology, the reality of the onslaught of Communism is to be faced without flinching, without pretending to ourselves that what is there really isn’t there. The Liberal commitment to collectivism and social engineering, to the priority of “society” and the state over the freedom of the person, leads to a feeling deep down that, after all, however deplorable their means, however frightful their *Schrecklichkeit*, the Communists are black-sheep brothers under the skin.

Conservative principles are not a luxury to be put aside for the overriding emergency of the struggle against Communism; it is only on the basis of these principles that this struggle can be effectively pursued. As appeasement develops naturally out of the Liberal assumptions, anti-Communism develops naturally out of the principles of conservatism. Not their watering down, but their intensification is the necessary basis for a successful fight against Communism.

Manifesto

PARIS LEARY

A spectre is haunting Europe, with no name
and a certain tread and a certain taste for youth,
moving across the odourless canals
of Amsterdam, almost visible now,
hissing through the Hapsburg-Christian halls
at Melk, lying along the fished-out Seine;
above splendid Rome it sees what the Hun saw;
the point of all jokes, it never laughs;
at once it riots, hides, and restores Order;
it is the mists over the wire at every border.

We are deployed along the summer here
in iced rooms, as America retires
from the weather in phoney shantung jackets.
Daddy reads the *Nation*, more withdrawn lately.
Mother deserts Sheen for a Jebbie lecture.
Cissy sighs and puts on Mabel Mercer
for the fifth time. Look at the ivy in the grate,
its plastic leaves our crisp summer fire.
Look at the sharp red dust boiling outside—
Louisiana is like Mars, hostile, dyed,

not really meant for human habitation—
which is useful. Here I can watch it happening,
the spectre growing by art and discontent,
dispassionately. For the hills of Austria
sound with bell-throated cows, and protest.
The hearties laughing in the Oxford station,
the old women in the Swan in Gloucester,
lovers in the parks in Lisbon, grapple
with the spectre, cry out against death, refusing
to give up hope in conferences and truces.

In blue valleys men pause and look out
at fields excited by their own passionate hands,
sown with the seed of their fathers and their fathers,
think of their sons growing tall, muscled, ready
almost now to do a man's work, bathed
in a man's sweat. Battles have been fought
in these valleys; crops and brides have died;
there has been famine, pain in childbirth, man's
living itself a chore—but always the spring
came down the yearly mountains like a young girl
running.

Here in a heat that sickens and can kill
I see it all more clearly. My father dozes
over his antique editor, believing
in The People, Yes. Mother will return soon
to tell me that evil is only a negative—
the positive heat beyond the window-sill
hardens her eyes like clay; her bedroom
becomes a tomb for a daughter of the Pharaohs.
Listen to the hum of the air-conditioner
and abandon hope, all you that enter here.

The earth belongs to the living generation,
but we belong to the spectre called Death.
Evil is not negative. I have seen
in the alien fury of a Southern summer,
in the ruthless gales off Florida or Maine,
in the quakes and frosts that ruin and lay waste
the image of our own more awful power.
And yet . . . even here the heart is loath,
cries, "Take this cup . . .," tells beads to the calm
heavens,
and turns to the cool hills singing in procession.



»BOOKS·ARTS·MANNERS«

Caudillos of the New Frontier

NATHANIEL WEYL

In his latest book, Professor Robert J. Alexander of Rutgers has provided hagiographic profiles of twelve Latin American politicians. Unlike the more old-fashioned *caudillos*, these twelve have created mass movements of discontent to place themselves and their cliques in power. The ideological fare they have served consists of warmed-over scraps of Communist, Nazi, socialist, fascist, populist and anarcho-syndicalist theory, borrowed without acknowledgment, blended without taste and adulterated to appeal to the intellectual immaturity and seething resentment so often characteristic of the Latin American intelligentsia of the Left.

According to Alexander, "The men discussed in these pages have all sought to lead their countries through a basic transformation, to bring them into the twentieth century. . . . Furthermore, these men have all been indigenous social reformers. . . . They have all been nationalists in politics and in intellectual inspiration." Alexander's dozen includes both Lázaro Cárdenas and Fidel Castro, though Lombardo Toledano is excluded as "part of the international communist movement." From this, one might infer that Castro is not a Communist, yet on page 286 we learn that the *barbudo* brought Cuba "into the communist bloc" partly at least because the sensitive fellow believed the U.S. didn't like his regime.

Is one to infer that Alexander believes the Communist bloc is synonymous with the twentieth century and

serious errors of evaluation if the volume under review disclosed the grace to apologize, the humility to doubt, or the intelligence to re-examine premises. But such appears not to be the case.

The work suffers from other defects. The sources are primarily apologia by Alexander's heroes and their disciples. Marxist-Leninist and socialist propaganda is often preferred to standard works. If Alexander had skipped C. Wright Mills, Sweezy, and Huberman, but had read Alberto Baeza Flores and Eunice Odio, he would not have had to wait for Fidel Castro to confess to being a veteran Communist. On Mexico, he relies on Tannenbaum and Eyler Simpson, both partisan and dated, to the exclusion of such authorities as Cline, Dulles and Scott. Cárdenas is presented as a folk hero and great democratic reformer. Nothing is said about how this poor boy and honest soldier became a multimillionaire. The role of the Communists in his presidential administration is minimized, with violence to the facts. Although Cárdenas is today a conscious instrument of the world Communist conspiracy, Alexander assures us that he

has "certainly not become a communist" and that he "remains the Grand Old Man of the Mexican Revolution." To the extent of his abilities, it would appear that Dr. Alexander is serving as the Rip Van Winkle of his countrymen in the matter of Lázaro Cárdenas.

Most of the leaders described in these pages have inflicted havoc on their countries. They have pursued policies which dried up investment, caused flights of capital and left the deluded masses of Latin America richer in demagogic promises, but poorer in bread. Perón destroyed the agricultural economy of Argentina, plunging the nation into a durable economic crisis from which it has not yet emerged. Getulio Vargas laid the foundation for a profound economic, social and political malaise which may soon bring Brazil under the shadow of Communist tyranny.

As a Social Democrat, Alexander is chiefly concerned with equalizing distribution, rather than with maximizing production. Yet the main need of Latin America is to produce more and breed less. Given the population detonation now in course, short-sighted nationalist-socialist policies that wither capital creation create proliferating jungles of hunger and despair. Nor will an attack on the professional armies (as militarism), on the Church (as obscurantism), on foreign investment (as imperialism) and on the middle class (as semi-feudal oligarchies) bring welfare to the masses. Rather it will tear down the pillars of Western civilization to the extent that they have been implanted in the Ibero-American soil.

Let us take one of Alexander's twelve heroes, and by no means the worst, as an example. Raúl Haya de la Torre, founder of the Peruvian APRA, appears to Alexander as "the most outstanding philosopher of the whole movement for social, economic and political change in Latin America during the last half century." We learn that Haya repudiated Communism in 1927, urging instead that Latin America "defeat the advance

Prophets of the Revolution: Profiles of Latin American Leaders, by Robert J. Alexander. Macmillan, \$4.95

that Communists are "indigenous social reformers"? Or do we conservatives merely underestimate the power of chronic mental confusion in American political science?

While Alexander's book was in press Castro boasted that his movement had been Communist from the outset and that he had chattered about democracy merely in order to deceive people. If *Prophets of the Revolution* achieves nothing else, it unintentionally casts light on the mentality of the woozy among us, who exist to be deluded by totalitarian Communist demagogues. I would not castigate Alexander for his

of imperialism and overthrow the semi-feudal classes which dominate the internal life of the Latin American countries and are, he maintains, the best allies of the imperialists."

This program departs from the extreme sectarianism of the Fifth World Congress of the Comintern, but it is hard to see how any serious student of the subject could view it as a rejection of Communism. A perusal of Haya's writing shows that he is not so much a "philosopher" as a power-oriented eclectic. In a lifetime of political writing, he has not produced a single original idea of importance. Neither he nor the rest of Alexander's dozen can compare with such originating minds of the Left as Henry George, Daniel de Leon, Georges Sorel and, for that matter, G. D. H. Cole.

THE nostrum Alexander is peddling is that the Americas can be saved from Communism if power is turned over to "the prophets of revolution." Accordingly, he is coy, not merely about the pro-Communist, but also about the pro-Nazi, past of many of his heroes. This applies to the Bolivian MNR and to José Figueres as well as to Haya de la Torre.

In the case of the APRA, one would never glean from Alexander's book that the movement was a terrorist brigade much influenced by the Nazis.

"We are not interested enough in ideas to have an ideology," the official philosopher of the APRA, Orrego, told Eudocio Ravines. "Only one idea is important and that is clear to us all. We must seize political power." Alexander does mention that Haya de la Torre spent years in Germany, but that is all. From a flesh-and-blood source, Ravines, we see Haya returning wildly enthusiastic from a Nazi rally and proclaiming: "The movement I am organizing is based on the model you have just seen: the leadership of a hierarchy, a lifelong and unbreakable leadership, undisputed and indisputable. Exemplary penalties and punishments, within the party and without it; and violence, violence without scruple, for any adversary . . . And when these weapons cannot be used, then strike at the enemy's pocketbook, at his wife, at his son, at his daughter; strike at his most vital parts, at his head, at his belly." (*The Yenan Way*)

Naturally, I am not suggesting that Figueres or Haya de la Torre are pro-fascist today. Why should they be with the New Frontier anxious to finance every left-wing demagogue not irrevocably committed to the Soviet cause? What I do suggest is that the author of a book which purports to give biographies of men and their ideas should follow the precept of Oliver Cromwell to his portraitist, and leave in the pock marks.

Fiction

Unhappy Shift of Genre

GABRIEL GERSH

IN his introduction to *Helena*, Evelyn Waugh observed that if he had been a less conscientious writer, the novel would have been three times as long.

The Fox in the Attic, by Richard Hughes. Harper, \$4.50

Richard Hughes could say the same of this first installment of *The Human Predicament*. The whole book is intended as an historical novel on the rise and fall of Nazism, and it uses events in the history of our tragic times as its basic material, with invented leading characters. Indeed, it is rather surprising to find the author of *A High Wind in Jamaica* and *In Hazard*, both novels remarkable for the immediacy of experience they conveyed, attempting to reconstruct as fiction Hitler's *putsch* in Munich in 1923, which he did not observe.

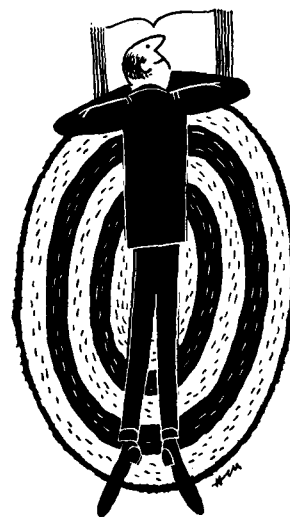
In *A High Wind in Jamaica*, the better of them, he communicated a marvellous sense of beauty and power of description to the reader, as though he had gone back to the fresh, uncontaminated sources of his own life and childhood without using an adult memory to do so. The childhood world—familiar in shape and color, but foreign in its values, fantasies and conceits—was freshly and vigorously

One final comment. While Alexander's book is in general easy reading, the translations from the Spanish are at times deplorable. It is not enough to render Spanish by English words which *sound* the same; they should *mean* the same. It is only in books such as *this one* that one can read of a Chilean President speaking of "the socially important diseases which debilitate the spirit and perturb the criterion."

projected by the author and formed the core of his novel. There has been no fable about innocence since (not even Carson McCullers' or Truman Capote's) that has quite managed so concisely to explore the world of childhood. Although the author has not lost the felicity of his style in *The Fox in the Attic*, it is difficult to dissociate his present book from *A High Wind in Jamaica* because the effects of that minor classic still linger in the mind. And, compared to it, *The Fox in the Attic* is a trifle disappointing.

The hero of the novel is Augustine Penry-Herbert who, like Hughes himself, was brought up to expect death on active service in the Great War, but was reprieved by the armistice for a life in which nothing is sure except that future wars are impossible. Our hero has unexpectedly inherited Newton Llantonny, a large estate of Wales, where he tries to fulfill his feudal responsibilities and lead the life of a recluse.

However, this tranquillity is shattered by his discovery of the body of a small girl in the sea marshes. The pace and excitement of the narrative gain momentum when the inhabitants of the town, who resent his solitary existence, do not believe his story and suspect that the girl's death was not an accident. Disturbed by



their suspicions, he travels abroad for the first time. Distant family connections cause him to choose Germany, the aristocratic and military Germany of the great defeat, where many people are awaiting a political messiah who will deliver them from the despair, frustration and aimlessness of life.

His cousins, the von Kessens of Schloss Lorientburg, are the German counterparts of his English relatives, but more profoundly unbalanced. The old father is plotting the restoration of the Bavarian monarchy; the older children are promoting chaotic conditions in which the army will return to power; and some members of the family are hiding in the attic of the Schloss a young assassin who is implicated in the murder of Rathenau, the Weimar Republic's famous statesman. Here Augustine also sees the Corporal, known contemptuously as the "White Crow," who is introduced into polite society by his friends, the Hanfstaengls.

UNFORTUNATELY, at this point the author interrupts the flow of his narrative and engages in several stretches of philosophizing. This abrupt transition causes the narrative to lose the interest and excitement which sustain it. Such philosophical intrusions can be introduced by a Tolstoy or Proust, but if they are attempted by a less skillful writer, the result is often disastrous.

The philosophy the author sets forth in these chapters is an important theme in the book and will undoubtedly continue to be so in the other volumes. Briefly, it concerns the problem of solipsism and the need for man to be confronted with a negation of what he loves or identifies himself with. Deny, for instance, the Christian's opposition between God's love and sin, and the polarization will establish itself elsewhere—in the totalitarian creed which divides the world into rigid racial or class categories.

When the author embodies these ideas in his characters, he can be quite interesting and moving. The escape of Hitler into the solipsist world in which only he exists ("the universe's unique sentient center") is beautifully balanced by the blind Mitzi's escape into the mystical world in which only God exists. The

humanist Augustine is not involved because these states of mind are beyond his comprehension.

It is difficult to judge *The Fox in the Attic*, for it needs to be seen in the perspective of the volumes that will follow. The scope of the novel is ambitious and daring (some critics have even compared it to *War and Peace*), but the result is rather un-

even. Its many touches of brilliant writing and flashes of insight do not make up for its lack of balance and its philosophical thinness. Its best passages, indeed, are those in which Hughes portrays several diabolical children whom he conjures up with the magic and skill he showed in his earlier masterpiece, *A High Wind in Jamaica*.

North African Conundrum

RUSSELL KIRK

IMPARTIAL but highly readable, this book compresses into 252 pages the principal events of the Mediterranean shore of Africa over more than two thousand years, and provides an interesting survey of the Barbary Coast's tremendous problems nowadays. Mrs. Nickerson, who once was

A Short History of North Africa: Libya, Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco, from Pre-Roman Days to the Present, by Jane Soames Nickerson. Devin-Adair, \$4.50

assistant to Hilaire Belloc, has applied to her task Belloc's principle of seeing the things and the men before writing history. She traveled, for instance, in the remote Sahara, and once found herself bouncing in a wild ride from a French garrison-post to the nearest dentist—hundreds of desert miles distant—with a bottle of brandy to keep down the pain of her abscessed tooth.

One question which Mrs. Nickerson raises intelligently—but is unable to answer—is the collapse of the Christian faith in North Africa ever since the Arab invasion. Though the Jews have clung to that shore tenaciously until very recent years, and even yet are not negligible there, Christians vanished before the Moslem domination; even the power of Charles V, and the triumph of French and Italian and Spanish arms in the nineteenth century were unable to restore the Christian community except as a sheltered exotic in the ports. In the Levant, even the Turkish domination did not extirpate altogether Christian churches; but in Africa, just opposite

the centers of Christian culture, Christianity vanished. This is the stranger because Africa meant so much to the early Church, and St. Augustine did his work at Hippo. Perhaps the feebleness of the Christians, which Cardinal Newman describes in *Callista*, never was altogether remedied. The French had but one Charles de Foucauld—who is described movingly in this book—and the anti-clericalism of the Third Republic discouraged, after 1870, even the mildest of movements to gain at least native toleration for Christian faith. The Spanish expulsion of the Moriscos, which directly produced the dread scourge of the Barbary pirates, reinforced in North Africa a hard hatred of the Church which undoubtedly will be felt—as the persecution of the Jews already is in progress—in the new self-governed native states.

European—and particularly French—conquest of the coast and hinterland in the latter half of the nineteenth century brought order—scarcely known since the Vandal conquest of the Roman provinces—and comparative prosperity. Also these benefits made possible an immense increase of population—in Algeria, a growth of more than 750 per cent.

THE North Africans, as Mrs. Nickerson writes, "are politically and technically incompetent, with only a tiny minority trained as doctors, engineers, chemists, architects, agronomists, electricians, and so on—the cadres upon which the entire functioning of all the modern world depends." This immense difficulty, as things are going, seems liable to become worse rapidly. Mrs. Nickerson points out that the fundamental fail-

ure of the European colonizers—aside from frequent high-handedness and the nineteenth-century materialism which Foucauld denounced — was their almost total failure to encourage development of genuine African leadership in politics and technology. In Morocco, Lyautey protected native culture and interests during his

thirteen years of mastery; but his prudent work was undone.

Much of the discussion in America of North African conflicts is informed only by enthusiastic prejudices, one way or the other; and this book, if read, will do a good deal to temper passions with the sober judgment of genuine history.

War and Policy

MICHAEL PADEV

A RMY experts and students of military history often describe Major General J.F.C. Fuller as "the Clausewitz of the twentieth century." For over thirty years he has been writing book after book on the conduct of war. His volumes, translated in almost all languages of the free world,

The Conduct of War, 1789-1961, by Major General J.F.C. Fuller. Rutgers University Press, \$6.00

not only cover the history of warfare, from Alexander of Macedon to MacArthur; he is also the author of a handbook on the tactics and strategy of tank warfare, a study of Western civilization, and a biography of Ulysses S. Grant. Fuller saw action as a lieutenant in the Boer War; he fought throughout World War I in France and "retired" into the writing business in 1930.

The title of his latest book, *The Conduct of War, 1789-1961*, is misleading. Though Fuller gives us a lot of interesting and little known details about nearly all major military operations since 1789, the main theme of his book is not military; it is

political. In analyzing the state of the world we live in today, he stresses, quite rightly, the importance of the "civilians," who shaped our destiny—Marx, Lenin, Hitler, Stalin, Lloyd George, Churchill, Wilson and Roosevelt. He fully believes in Clausewitz's main credo that "war is only a continuation of policy by other means." War, in other words, is not an end in itself; it is an instrument of policy, a means toward achieving foreign policy objectives. Fuller explains that the purpose of war is not to destroy one's opponent totally or to subjugate a defeated nation completely. As a weapon of policy, war is simply "an act of violence intended to compel our opponent to fulfill our will."

It is obvious, then, that he considers the "unconditional surrender" formula of World War II as a particularly insane Western policy created by the West's political leaders—the "architects of disaster." This clumsy policy led inevitably to the West's "surrender to Russia," whose ruler, Stalin, knew what he wanted. Fuller thinks Franklin Delano Roosevelt is the main "architect of disaster." He says Roosevelt's approach toward Russia suggested "a policy of ultra-appeasement." He rightly considers the first East-West Summit (the Teheran Conference of November, 1943) as the political turning point of the war—when "the seeds of Europe's ruin were sown."

Two of the most interesting chapters in this book are devoted to Lenin and the Russian Revolution and to Soviet Revolutionary warfare. Discussing the failures of the Communist "way of life," Fuller says:

There is nothing illogical in the desire of the "have-nots" to appropri-

ate the wealth of the "haves"; in fact, it is part and parcel of the law of animal life. The bear robs the hive and the wolf the fold, and when "nature red in tooth and claw" is stretched into its human dimension, there is nothing irrational in Marx's theory that, granted the power, one social class should devour another. But what is irrational is, to assume that by robbing the hive the bear will assume the industry of the bee, or by robbing the fold the wolf will become as pacific as the sheep. It is astonishing that a man of Marx's high intelligence could have believed in ritualistic cannibalism on the social plane; that by wresting the forces of production from the bourgeoisie and centralizing them in the hands of the proletariat, the proletariat would automatically acquire the skills of the ruling class. And it is equally astonishing that a man of Lenin's mental calibre could have attempted to put this magic into practice.

Discussing Cold War problems, General Fuller warns the West that its policy of "coexistence" with Khrushchev will inevitably lead to another disaster. Western statesmen, Fuller stresses, do not realize that no compromise with Moscow is possible as long as the Soviets "continue to hold that world revolution is pre-ordained by history." The West, he says, should avoid East-West conferences like the plague—they invariably provide a platform for Communist propaganda. Besides, when we "consent to talk with those who are opposing freedom, we are betraying our first front line—the peoples of Soviet-subjugated East Europe."

In the Cold War, Fuller continues, the "psychological center of gravity" of the Soviet Empire is to be sought "in the hearts" of the Soviet enslaved nations. It should be borne in mind—but it seldom is—that this "psychological bomb" is as "great a deterrent to the Soviets resorting to actual war as the hydrogen bomb itself."

General Fuller concludes: "Russia's weakness is our strength, and her strength is our ignorance; no man realizes this more fully than Nikita Khrushchev. What, then, is our Cold War policy?" Clemenceau is reported to have said that war was too serious a thing to be left entirely in the hands of the military. Fuller would seem to show that the Cold War is too serious a thing to be left entirely in the hands of the politicians, especially politicians of the New Frontier variety.

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Desolate Victories

MORTON CRONIN

IN THE foreword that Tennessee Williams wrote for the published edition of *Sweet Bird of Youth*, first performed on Broadway in 1959, now produced for MGM by Pandro S. Berman, the playwright recalls: "All my life I have been haunted by the obsession that to desire a thing or to love a thing intensely is to place yourself in a vulnerable position, to be a possible, if not a probable, loser of what you most want."

This passage certainly defines the anguish in Williams' character, and in none of his plays has he dramatized this anguish more explicitly than in this one. His problem is an old favorite with writers and the human race: the desire to grow up and a dread of the consequences.

Chance Wayne's struggle to be a man began with Miss Heavenly, daughter of Boss Finley, a political wheel in the Deep South. Heavenly loved back, but Chance insisted on slaying the dragon of success before he took licit as well as illicit possession. He tried and tried to kill the beast, but he failed and failed. We discover him on his last visit home, in the company of Alexandra Del Lago, movie star, aging and alcoholic but still imperious. The ogre-father, the wicked queen, the beleaguered princess, and the disinherited son—this is the quartet with which the play begins.

The play ends in the general waste of spirit with which a Williams play on this theme evidently must end. Miss Heavenly remains unwon and, for lagniappe, has been spayed like a bitch. Alexandra receives only a temporary stay of execution before oblivion as an actress and dissolution as a person. And Chance Wayne, almost with relief, awaits, even invites, his own castration. Only Boss Finley escapes, after a fashion, for it is only the Boss Finleys, the Big Daddys, and the Stanley Kowalskis who inherit the earth when Williams is in this mood. The others achieve a victory of sorts, as Blanche did in *Streetcar*, but it is only the desolate victory of confronting a meaningless destiny

with some final dignity or, as Williams puts it, "with whatever is truthful in the moments when people . . . face firing squads together."

Is it true that this is the only triumph possible for human beings, at least for decent, reflective and sensitive human beings? So help me, it is not true. It is the message of our time, but we live in false times. Scott Fitzgerald, Hemingway, Faulkner, Salinger, MacLeish — they have all delivered the Williams message. And they are all sick unto death.

It is entirely possible to be decent, sensitive, beautiful — and happily creative. Not, I grant you, by an act of will. And not, certainly, by intellectual exercises. If the Boss Finleys and the Stanley Kowalskis inherit the earth it is because, despite everything, they are better *as human beings* than the Chance Waynes and the Blanches. And what makes them better is their capacity to give love and to receive it—without shame or panic.

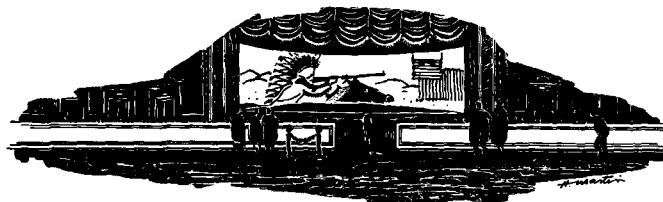
A hillbilly in this play unlimbers himself like this: "I believe that the silence of God, the absolute speechlessness of Him is a long, long and awful thing that the whole world is lost because of. I think it's yet to be broken to any man, living or any yet lived on earth. . ."

That is Williams speaking. No hillbilly would say that because a hillbilly still trusts himself as a human being, still listens to his heart. He knows that ogres and wicked queens are commonly foiled, that beleaguered princesses love to be rescued, and that disinherited sons often come into their own.

And yet Tennessee Williams is, with the possible exception of Thornton Wilder, America's most gifted playwright, and *Sweet Bird of Youth* is an effective play. All its characters—even Boss Finley—were created with at least some understanding and sym-

pathy. Then, too, so long as half-men writhe on our planet, and half-women writhe with them, their stories must be dramatized, and Williams is the man to do it. He lives and writes in hell, but hell is a famous way-station on the road to truth. Just getting that far is an accomplishment, as a comparison of the play with the screen version demonstrates.

THE MOTION PICTURE, written and directed by Richard Brooks, bears some relation to the play, but not very much. Except for Chance Wayne and Alexandra, the characters have been simplified, and this simplification is a reflection of the ideological simplicity of Mr. Brooks and his helpers. A Southern politician must be gross, heavy-set, and gleefully hypocritical, and so Boss Finley has been made over in that image. His henchmen



have the faces of men whose problem in life is how to while away the tedium between lynchings. Aunt Nonny, a tender and discerning person in the play, appears in the movie as the potty and moon-struck spinster which every Southern mansion has floating about it. In short, Southerners are not really human. You just look them up in a book on abnormal psychology.

What embarrasses me, however, is that I enjoyed the movie. For good or bad, there is not a dull moment in it. And, as a matter of fact, some very good things occur, chief of which is Geraldine Page as the star whose disintegration is still accompanied by explosions which illuminate the desperate and eerie moonscape of her character. The next best thing is Ed Begley as Boss Finley, a part he plays with such relish that he almost makes a virtue of Mr. Brooks' simplification by converting the role into a kind of poor man's Richard III.

Finley's son, human enough in Williams' play, is a psychopath in the movie, but if you like psychopaths you will like Rip Torn's ability to suggest a man beneath whose tight

surface violence jumps and strains like angry muscles under a smooth skin. Paul Newman is decorative in the difficult role of Chance Wayne. A weak hero can be appealing provided he is intelligent, but if he is both weak and dumb, as Chance is, an actor is up against it. And this cannot be laid at Mr. Brooks' door. Williams himself made the hero that way. Finally, Shirley Knight is mighty pretty as Miss Heavenly. I forgot to notice whether she acted well or not.

Just Too Pretty

JOHN CARDEN

IT IS AN indication of the intensity of the French-Italian production, *Blood and Roses*, that we find ourselves admiring the pretty color scenery. One yearns for the good old days. The pattern of the classic American horror film was always a simple one, and the spectator could sit back in comfortable awareness of what to expect. There were the standard opening shots of a demented scientist's laboratory, complete with furiously bubbling apparatus and a scampering, slobbering assistant—then, amid an ear-splitting series of crackles and sputters, the electric current would snake up and down and across the room, finally hitting the electrodes above the operating table with an especially deafening blast, followed by a huge puff of smoke. At that point the thing under the sheet would begin to writhe, and we knew we were off and running. Next ensued the fiend's escape from the tender hands of his creator, the inadvertent murder of a little girl in pigtails, and the march of townspeople to the unfortunate's lair. Finally, of course, came the inevitable encounter between monster and

maker in a deserted windmill or some other such eerie rook; and, for the last time, boy met ghoul.

Thus, badly and perhaps facetiously stated, the outline of the classic horror film. Within these unvarying plot limitations, however, some excellent effects were achieved by means of imaginative camera work and whipcrack direction, if not especially distinguished acting. The latter was seldom memorable because the simplicity of the story reduced the participants' reactions to a series of stock grimaces. But some wonderful things, often bordering on the surrealistic, were accomplished pictorially. It is here that *Blood and Roses*, directed by Roger Vadim, falls down. Vadim's effort constitutes a revolt of sorts against the purity of the classic horror film, and is unhappily characterized by some of the less attractive properties of romanticism. It is flamboyant, overly emphatic, and in color. Gone are the sombre greys, the stark black and whites, and the chiaroscuro of yesteryear; in their place, we find the gaudy tints of a Hollywood musical comedy. That fact marks the difference between the Gothic tale of terror and Grand Guignol. The use of color makes almost

impossible that "willing suspension of disbelief" vital to the full appreciation of this kind of movie.

What M. Vadim asks us to appreciate is the spectacle of a sophisticated cinematic intelligence toying with the human vampire myth. But, despite the competence of the performers—including Mel Ferrer and Annette Vadim—and the use of Hadrian's villa as the locale, what we get is a blood-spattered pastiche. The overabundance of gory shirts and nightgowns is especially depressing. Some years ago Edmund Wilson, fed up with the usual slick Hollywood product, wrote of the early fright movies, "They are absurd, they are fairy tales; but they do have a certain independent existence." Actually, there is much in a well-done horror film that the adult moviegoer can enjoy. His pleasure may be escapist in nature, but that does not disallow its validity. A good deal, however, must be left to the imagination. By being too explicit, *Blood and Roses* makes itself banal. Less surface sophistication and more imagination might have turned it into a better movie. But, then, there's always the scenery.

BOOKS IN BRIEF

GENTLEMEN OF VIRGINIA, by Marshall W. Fishwick (Dodd, Mead, \$5.00). "So what's with this creep?" would about sum up mid-twentieth-century America's reaction to a "gentleman" if it ever saw one. At least, one like those who once comprised the American noblesse. Unfortunately (or fortunately, perhaps) the encounter is an improbable one. The gentleman is decidedly passé—quite as much so as the priest-king of Egyptian antiquity—and like him, scarcely "democratic." The Virginia gentleman: he stood for everything the great lights of our age have consigned to damnation—the land before the town, community before aggregation, grace before efficiency, personal dignity before the unfeeling informality of togetherness. "Men in gray flannel suits can learn a lot from the man in the white marble toga," writes Marshall Fishwick of General Washington. Can they though, indeed? Which

of Washington's qualities would serve the "adjusted" and "integrated" atomic blob of the New Society? Which of General Lee's? Their courage? Their dignity? Their honor? Their (sometime) decorum? Their conception of duty? Their disdain for self-indulgence and self-seeking? Well, new times, new men. Professor Fishwick all unwittingly says as much: the last essay of this volume chronicles the life of General George C. Marshall. J. D. FUTCH

FRANK LLOYD WRIGHT, a biography, by Finis Farr (Scribner's, \$5.95). At the age of eighteen, Frank Lloyd Wright pawned a piece of fur and some books from his father's library for seven dollars, bought a train ticket, and without going home to say goodbye took the next train to Chicago. He resolved to be an architect. That action foreshadowed the qualities of his life and work—confidence,

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courage, directness, extravagance—qualities which, immensely magnified by prodigious energy and longevity and sustained by an unconquerably heroic will, brought Frank Lloyd Wright to a life of extremes: blasted marriages, splendor and insolvency, grandiose estates and a stay in jail, critical neglect and uncritical adulation, writings compounded of equal parts wisdom and claptrap, an architectural style conceived in the grandest terms of individuality but easily degraded into the most inhuman expressions of “machinery.” Finis Farr confronts this mountain of contradictions with poise, clarity and sympathy adorned now and then with gentle humor. Farr’s balance of attitude and narrative style extends to his general plan, which, with extraordinary grace, intertwines the major themes of Frank Lloyd Wright as a person, the style and content of his architecture, the general background of architectural thought and practice, and the place of Frank Lloyd Wright in the development of the art (his place in the history of marital relations has been secure for a half-century). Illustrated with almost half a hundred photographs of some of the 700 buildings Wright designed, and supplied with a good bibliography and index, this biography will stand for a long time as a major approach to the question, Was Frank Lloyd Wright or Wrong?

W. F. RICKENBACKER

THE LOSS OF UNITY, by Hoffman Nickerson (Doubleday, \$4.95). Mr. Nickerson, himself a leading Episcopalian layman and an historian of note, has in this book considered with erudition and charity the problems arising from the great split in Western civilization that took place at the time of the Reformation. He is deeply concerned—as all citizens of the West must be—not only with the schism of the Church, but also with the deep fissure in Western culture which has been the civilizational result of that schism. The depth of understanding and patience with which he examines the past and hopes for the future makes *The Loss of Unity* a book to be read with profit by Catholic and Protestant alike.

F. S. MEYER

WHICH OF THESE LEADING CONTENDERS WILL WIN THE 1962 NATIONAL BOOK AWARDS?

From the hundreds of eligible books published last year, judges for the 1962 National Book Awards have narrowed their field of choice to the following leading contenders:



FICTION

JUDGES LEWIS GANNETT, HERBERT GOLD AND
JEAN STAFFORD ARE CONSIDERING:

Hortense Calisher, *False Entry* (Little, Brown) / George P. Eliot, *Among the Dangs* (Holt, Rinehart & Winston) / Joseph Heller, *Catch-22* (Simon & Schuster) / Bernard Malamud, *A New Life* (Farrar, Straus & Cudahy) / William Maxwell, *The Chateau* (Knopf) / Walker Percy, *The Movie Goer* (Knopf) / J. D. Salinger, *Franny and Zooey* (Little, Brown) / Isaac Singer, *The Spinoza of Market Street* (Farrar, Straus & Cudahy) / Edward Lewis Wallant, *The Pawnbroker* (Harcourt, Brace & World) / Joan Williams, *The Morning and the Evening* (Atheneum) / Richard Yates, *Revolutionary Road* (Little, Brown)



NON-FICTION

JUDGES LOREN EISELEY, AUGUST HECKSHER AND
LOUIS B. WRIGHT ARE CONSIDERING:

Robert Ardrey, *African Genesis* (Atheneum) / James Baldwin, *Nobody Knows My Name* (Dial) / Stringfellow Barr, *The Will of Zeus* (Lippincott) / John Burchard and Albert Bush-Brown, *The Architecture of America* (Little, Brown) / Rene Dubos, *The Dreams of Reason* (Columbia) / Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (Random House) / Oscar Lewis, *The Children of Sanchez* (Random House) / Lewis Mumford, *The City in History* (Harcourt, Brace & World) / Virgilia Peterson, *A Matter of Life and Death* (Atheneum) / Mark Schorer, *Sinclair Lewis: An American Life* (McGraw-Hill) / Elizabeth Stevenson, *Lafcadio Hearn* (Macmillan) / Theodore H. White, *The Making of the President* (Atheneum) / Ola Elizabeth Winslow, *John Bunyan* (Macmillan)



POETRY

JUDGES LEONIE ADAMS, MARK VAN DOREN AND
WILLIAM JAY SMITH ARE CONSIDERING:

Robert Bagg, *Madonna of the Cello* (Wesleyan) / Philip Booth, *The Islanders* (Viking) / John Ciardi, *In the Stoneworks* (Rutgers) / H. D., *Helen in Egypt* (Grove) / Reuel Denney, *In Praise of Adam* (Chicago) / Alan Dugan, *Poems* (Yale) / Abbie Huston Evans, *Facts of Crystal* (Harcourt, Brace & World) / Isabella Gardner, *The Looking Glass* (Chicago) / Horace Gregory, *Medusa in Gramercy Park* (Macmillan) / John Holmes, *The Fortune Teller* (Harper) / Denise Levertov, *Jacob's Ladder* (New Directions) / Ned O'Gorman, *Adam Before His Mirror* (Harcourt, Brace & World) / John Hall Wheelock, *The Gardener and Other Poems* (Scribner)

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CINCINNATI / OHIO / USA

To the Editor

The Question of Robert Welch

Let me congratulate you on NATIONAL REVIEW's article entitled "The Question of Robert Welch" [Feb. 13]. I think you have clearly stated the problem which Mr. Welch's continued leadership of the John Birch Society poses for sincere conservatives. It is a problem which requires all of us who believe in the concepts of constitutional government and individual liberty to make it plain that we do not intend to depart from the truth in the pursuit of aims we believe are in the best interests of the American people.

Mr. Welch is only one man and I do not believe his views, far removed from reality and common sense as they are, represent the feelings of most members of the John Birch Society. At least they do not represent the convictions of John Birch members with whom I am acquainted in my home state of Arizona. Because of this, I believe the best thing Mr. Welch could do to serve the cause of anti-Communism in the United States would be to resign.

I am sure you realize this is a difficult suggestion for me to make, for I am well acquainted with Mr. Welch's dedication. However, we cannot allow the emblem of irresponsibility to be attached to the conservative banner.

Washington, D. C. **BARRY GOLDWATER**
U.S. Senator (Ariz.)

NATIONAL REVIEW magazine, a leading exponent of and spokesman for the growing strength of political conservatism in America, has detailed and documented an airtight case in its criticism of Robert Welch, founder of the John Birch Society. The NATIONAL REVIEW editorial, to which I refer, is a courageous and responsible analysis, and I wish to associate myself with its conclusions.

Washington, D.C. **JOHN G. TOWER**
U.S. Senator (Tex.)

The one thing the conservative anti-Communist movement does not need is unwarranted attack by one conservative spokesman upon another. In this matter Mr. Robert Welch has

shown far more judgment and integrity than you. I first heard of NATIONAL REVIEW through the John Birch Society. Your below-the-belt in NR's present issue is the last I want to hear, and worse, finance. Cancel my subscription effective today. The refund due me will be used for a gift subscription to *American Opinion*.

Clever debate is your forte, Mr. Buckley. When it comes to *action*, others carry the burden. Even if Mr. Warren is never impeached, tens of thousands of good Americans previously oblivious to the harm done by the Warren Court are now informed and aroused—by the hard work sparked and carried out by John Birch Society members who cared not whether they thus became "controversial" or not. Mr. Welch's *zeal* is his greatest asset. Our battle for survival as free men under God cannot be won without it.

Wichita, Kan. **MRS. KENNETH L. MYERS**

It is not Mr. Welch's "zeal" that we have questioned. Unfortunately, zeal is not enough: Communists, too—and Satan, for that matter—are zealous.

—ED.

NATIONAL REVIEW has performed a magnificent public service—as well as a vital service to the conservative cause—in publishing "The Question of Robert Welch." My heartiest congratulations on this achievement. There are two aspects of this article which deserve special comment. You were judicious in distinguishing between the opinions of Robert Welch and the ideas of tens of thousands of dedicated men and women who join the John Birch Society because they want to do something about Communism. These people do not always agree with Welch on his major statements. The case you develop against the validity of Welch's ideas, based upon his own statements, will act as a powerful influence on members of the John Birch Society as well as the general public. The other aspect of the story which impressed me is the

fact that your indictment of Welch's position is based upon his own statements. I have long known of Welch's theory that American defeats by the Communists could only have been caused by conspiracy at the highest level of government. But I did not realize how far Welch had gone in pursuing his ridiculous logic until I read the profusion of Welch's quotations in your article. . . .

It is essential for the conservative cause to dissociate itself completely from the irresponsible fringe which seeks to attach itself to this movement. Your article will do much to hasten this process—and to convince many members of the John Birch Society that they ought to have much more responsible leadership.

New York City LAWRENCE FERTIG

I have been a subscriber to NATIONAL REVIEW for a number of years and have appreciated its wit and erudite approach to our present problems. Throughout the years one of the major problems of the conservatives has been their habit of destroying themselves and giving aid and comfort to the left wing by devoting so much of their energy to fighting other conservatives. You have now done this with respect to Mr. Welch. If you don't like Welch that is your privilege; but your obligation, if you expect to continue as a leader and mold of conservative opinion, is to stop fighting other conservatives and devote your wit, satire and biting pen to the greater task of exposing the folly and greater danger of the Left.

Cleveland, Ohio ARTHUR L. CAIN

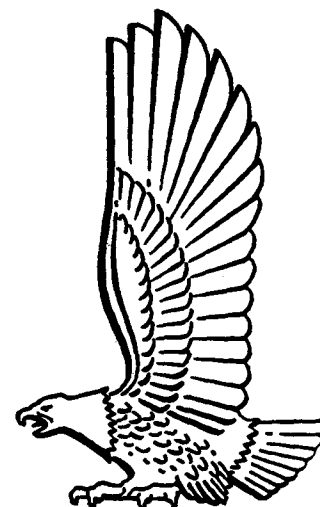
I have not had the pleasure of reading NATIONAL REVIEW before. I find it an extremely interesting magazine, and being one of those super-patriots, I see eye to eye with you on most things. As to your criticisms of Mr. Robert Welch, I have but one question to ask you: Suppose he is right in defining "things Communist" as he does? I had much rather work on the supposition that things are as bad in the State Department and elsewhere in our government as Mr. Welch says, and find later that we have not been taken over by the Communist International Conspiracy, than to wake up one day soon to find our freedoms are gone, and either total slavery or a bullet in the back of the head as

“

A people may prefer a free government; but if, from indolence, or carelessness, or cowardice, or want of public spirit, they are unequal to the exertions necessary for preserving it; if they will not fight for it when it is directly attacked; if they can be deluded by the artifices used to cheat them out of it; if, by momentary discouragement, temporary panic or a fit of enthusiasm for an individual, they can be induced to lay their liberties at the feet even of a great man, or *trust him with powers* which enable him to subvert their institutions—in all these cases they are more or less unfit for liberty; and though it may be for their good to have had it even for a short time, they are unlikely long to enjoy it. . . .

”

John Stuart Mill



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MRS. M. N. FULLER

I found your editorial on Robert Welch interesting, but disturbing. Interesting because it gave me information on Mr. Welch I had not seen before, and disturbing because a man with such ideas could gain such a following in the United States.

Washington, D.C. ARTHUR W. RADFORD
Admiral, U.S. Navy, Ret.

The Hope of Albania

Permit me, as an Albanian exile, to take exception to some of Mr. Kuehnelt-Leddihn's assertions ["Hoxha is a Balkan," December 30]. To explain Balkan mentality, Mr. Kuehnelt-Leddihn quotes Bismarck's famous outcry, "The only gentleman in the Balkans is the Turk." Bismarck said this because the efforts of the Balkan people to liberate themselves from Turkish oppression threatened a *status quo* favored by the Iron Chancellor. But this outcry was then only as valid as that of some Western people today who deplore the resistance of the captive European peoples against Communism because, in their opinion, it threatens the present *status quo*. As regards Albania, Mr. Kuehnelt-Leddihn asserts that Hoxha is "Balkan par excellence."

Hoxha is no Balkan and he is no product of Albania. He is a half-baked intellectual who was converted to Communism in Western European universities. Hoxha betrayed his country to Tito who holds over one million Albanians captive in the Albanian region of Kossova-Metohia, and later to Stalin. He has killed thousands of Albanian patriots. As for the patriotism of the Albanians, their resistance against the Fascists before and during World War II and against Communism speaks eloquently. As a matter of fact, now that he has lost the support of the Soviet Union, Hoxha is making use of the Greek claims against Southern Albania and warns the Albanians that the overthrow of his regime may result in the partition of Albania. Albanians are conscious of their national entity, and are no more ready to see it dissolved now than throughout their long history of invasions and foreign occupation. That Albanians may have developed certain traits characteristic of their region,

among them a strong sense of personal pride and a strong sense of patriotism, accounts for the present situation only inasmuch as it has forced Hoxha to resort to extremely cruel measures to subdue the people to Communism. It does not account for the Communist regime in Albania, which is patterned after all Communist satellite regimes, or for Hoxha's personal behavior, which is patterned most obviously after Tito's behavior in a similar situation.

The rift between Khrushchev and Hoxha opens up the opportunity of a liberation of Albania from Communism. The psychological value of Albania's liberation should be great and could be the beginning of the disintegration of the Soviet empire which is the alternative to nuclear war or a world ultimately dominated by the Soviets. By refusing to give aid to Hoxha in the hope of weaning him away from Communism, as it did with Tito, or standing by idly if Tito attempts by aggression to restore a regime submissive to him and to the Kremlin, and by giving official assurances to the Albanians as to Albania's territorial integrity and independence, the U.S. could perhaps deal a devastating blow to the Communist grip in Eastern Europe.

New York City

NUCI KOTTA

A Positive Spirit

The check-off, as Mr. Michael Bernstein's review [Jan. 30] of Jameson G. Campaigne's timely book on that subject indicates, is undoubtedly the greatest weapon of labor bossism against the rank and file. Incidentally, my book, *What Is Collective Bargaining?*, Longmans, 1939, urged banning of the check-off, then practiced only by the United Mine Workers. However, this letter is not written in the spirit of "I-told-you-so," but to call attention to the negative spirit of the remedies suggested.

Before the New Deal, the AFL sharply distinguished the American labor movement from its European contemporaries. Keenly conscious of the socialist trends in European labor, the leaders of the American labor movement worked for "economic voluntarism," as Samuel Gompers expressed it. The members joined in their unions to protect their wages and working conditions. In religion and politics they insisted on being free agents. Going a step further,

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William Green strove for "union-management cooperation," not political advancement of unionism. We departed from this profoundly American approach when, under Franklin D. Roosevelt and John L. Lewis, the CIO was fostered by the Federal Government. Instead of that step backward toward European socialism, there was a possible step forward, beyond union-management cooperation. Of course, before we can go forward on a positive path, we must

retrace the New Deal, Fair Deal, New Frontier steps; but the goal should go beyond the negative.

McLean, Va. DR. MOLLIE RAY CARROLL

Whose Bailiwick?

Frank Meyer's excellent article, "The Twisted Tree of Liberty" [Jan. 16], should be required reading for the editors of Liberal Catholic Magazines (there's another kind?), since he is obviously more conversant with Thomistic political philosophy than they seem to be.

JOHN PAUL FITZGIBBON, PH.D.
Prof. of Philosophy

Newton College of the Sacred Heart
Newton, Mass.

Tricky Business

NATIONAL REVIEW ["What About the UN Bonds?," Jan. 30] states: "Put most simply, and not quite exactly, we believe that many of the technical functions served by the complex of agencies composing what one calls for short, 'The UN,' are desirable or necessary." It continues, "As a technical organization we are, if not unqualifiedly for the UN, at any rate prepared to accept it. As a political organization, we are against it, and strongly so. We therefore conclude that the UN ought to be, to the maximum extent possible, *depoliticalized*."

The sought-after goal is commendable, but how you would do it borders on legerdemain. Considering the inherent organization and function of the UN, you would perform emasculation and maintain potency, and as an afterthought decide which part of the cancer is good and should be retained.

Dallas, Tex. DONALD R. BERNHARDT, M.D.

Source of Strength

As a student of aviation history of the years leading to W.W. II, and, due to the close connection, a student of the world political situation of that period, I was particularly distressed to read the review of *The Grand Camouflage* [Jan. 30].

I have no argument with Mr. Thorning's treatment of the book, or the parallel he drew between Communist techniques in the Spanish and Cuban revolutions; but to state that "Nationalist victory in Spain was the prize of valor and strength," is both to commit a historical error of appalling magnitude and to intimate that an ogre which leans to the Right is to be preferred to one that leans to the Left. I would

hope that the Spaniards provided their own valor, since the strength was most certainly furnished by the scores of aircraft and aircrews lent to the Nationalist cause by Hitler and Mussolini. The members of the Condor Legion cannot even be called mercenaries, since they went to Spain under *Luftwaffe* orders (their passports stated that they were "tourists," and their aircraft arrived before they did), used equipment of the most modern design, and employed the Spanish war as a convenient playground in which to perfect the dive-bombing and close air support tactics used to such effect in the *Blitzkrieg*.

Albany, Cal.

EARL BOEBERT

The Paar Show

Hats off to your editor for his able presentation of the conservative cause in Jack Paar's lions' den. Paar's reaction is typical of non-thinking Liberals. To say that conservatives are not concerned about people shows that these folks have never carefully analyzed or listened to what conservatives are saying! To the contrary, Liberal-socialists are the ones who have no "humanity" for they make of the individual a vegetable among the masses cared for by big government.

Foster, Neb.

REV. FRANK ZIRBEL

... his appearance was excellent and of considerable worth to the conservative cause. His matchless comebacks to what Paar thought were insurmountable traps were both refreshing and forceful.

Edina, Minn.

DON RAIHLE

A Pervading Attraction

James Burnham's superb analysis ["No Friends Allowed," Jan. 30] of our compulsion to cultivate those whom we know to be anti-Western and to woo their favors and sympathies by anti-Western acts of our own is a masterpiece. Burnham calls our concentration on the Asian and African theaters a "geopolitical perspective" and, as such, a mistaken judgment of the decisive areas. Actually, however, the anti-Western tendency in our policy is not confined to the selection of the wrong theater of the Cold War. It is a pervading attraction to anti-Western groups and forces, wherever they are found. Pierre Letelier, at the recent Conference on Soviet Political Warfare

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held in Rome, reported that American diplomats, particularly labor attachés, showed a persistent preference for the company and sympathy of pro-Communist trade union elements in Latin America. When questioned by anti-Communist and pro-Western labor leaders, they pleaded a) that the pro-Communist groups are powerful, and b) that they as Americans did not wish to lose contact with them. Underlying this there may be, of course, not merely a false judgment of expediency but a deep-down conviction that the attack on the West is justified and that only by joining in this attack can we be on the side of the angels.

Notre Dame, Ind. GERHART NIEMEYER
Dept. of Political Science
University of Notre Dame

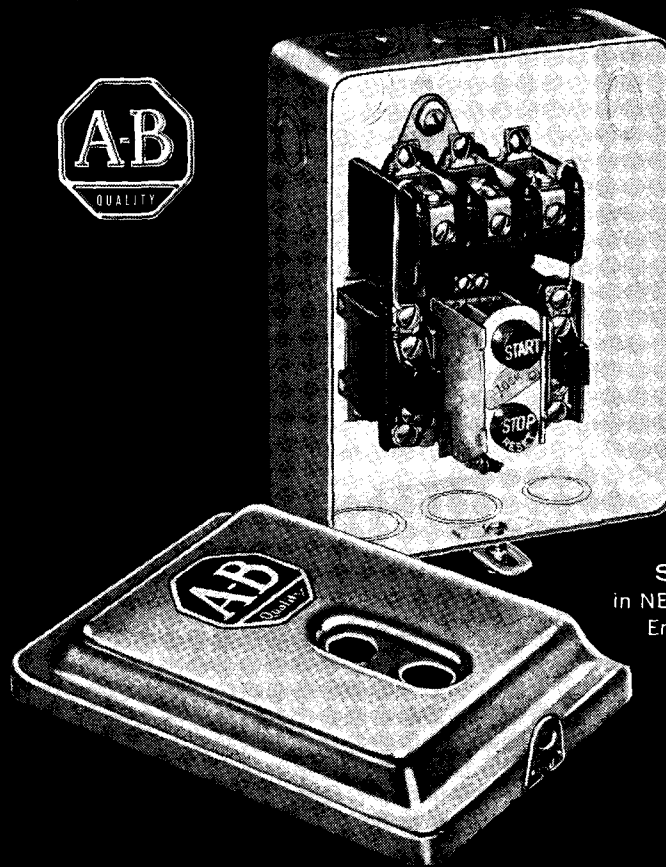
LIPPMANN

(Continued from p. 130)

clutch upon reality. The conservative does not confound words with things, nor assume that talk can fill the breach while the enemy sappers batter at the bastions. He knows that power can be restrained only by power. He knows that allies will not stand by a great state which, for the sake of perpetual negotiation, meekly lets its friends go by the board one after another. Distinguishing the dream-realm from the real world, the practical conservative does not expect to convert his grim adversaries of Giant Ideology to sweet reasonableness by monthly or yearly concessions and appeals to the comity of nations. And he recognizes that nothing whets an ideologue's appetite for power and territory so much as little appetizing gobbets of concession, served up by a rival who clearly suffers from a failure of nerve.

If, then, we are to take up the game of denouncing deviation from the True Faith of Conservatism, I fancy it is not Senator Goldwater and Senator Thurmond who will be cast into the outer darkness, where there is wailing and gnashing of teeth. "Communism also belongs to the twentieth century," Mr. Lippmann writes. Aye, just so; few recognize that fact better than Senator Goldwater and Senator Thurmond. But they, being conservatives with backbone, have made up their minds that the twentieth century must not belong to Communism.

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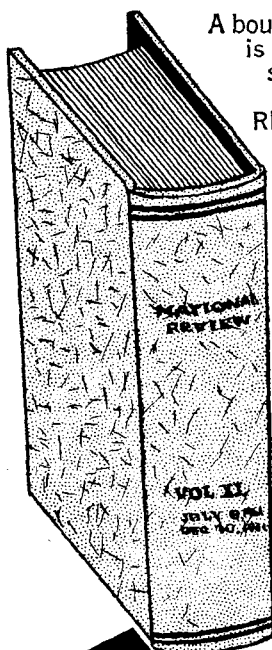
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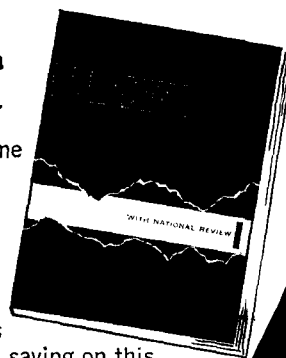
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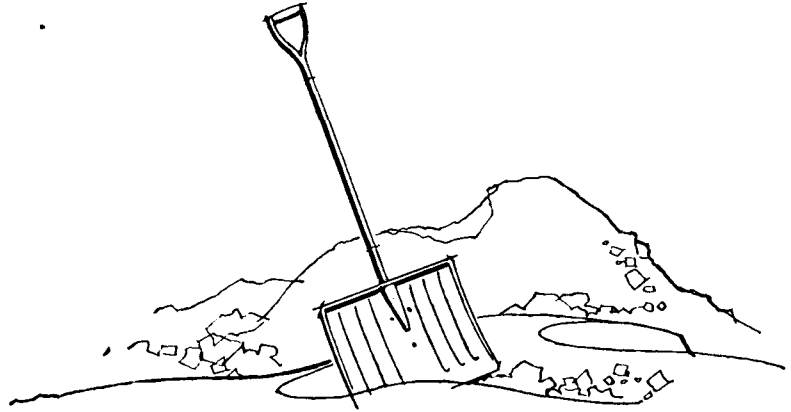
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Snow Shovelers

"the last vestiges of free enterprise?"

(From the St. Joseph, Mo., News-Press)

High time it is for the Federal Government to take measures to regulate the shoveling of snow. Just last week, when snow blanketed the city there were hundreds of young boys going from home to home seeking to remove snow from sidewalks. These youngsters are the last vestiges of free enterprise in the United States and steps should be taken to remove this blot from the American scene. These boys, ranging from little fellows of six and seven to teen-agers, apparently do not know that they are the victims of exploitation.

During that recent snow, it was easily seen there was an overabundance of youths willing to shovel the downfall from the walks. Procedures should be established to eliminate such situations. A benevolent Federal Government should take steps to see that there is sufficient snow for all boys to shovel. (More than that, the Government, if it really wants to woo tomorrow's voters, should provide free shovels for these snow shovelers.)

In case there was a general heavy snowfall throughout the entire nation, the Federal Government (this would probably be a Cabi-

net post with some benevolent soul in charge of snow jobs) could provide for the storage of surplus snow at strategic points. During years when snowfall was at a minimum, this vast surplus of snow could be shipped to various areas of the country, where snow was not available, so it could be shoveled by young boys.

A system of penalties would be devised which would require youths shoveling snow in excess of their allotment to forfeit part of the pay they received for their work.

In this day and age it is not fair to permit boys who are ambitious to shovel snow and be paid for it while other youths remain home and watch television and are not paid for it. It is strange that in this field the New Frontier has not yet taken steps to set up at least a snow corps. Unless this free enterprise idea demonstrated by unregulated snow shovelers is stamped out, the United States is liable to wake up one day and find that someone will be advocating the encouragement of free enterprise by our national Government.

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